

**THE APPROACH OF THE *INDEPENDENT
CORRUPT PRACTICES AND OTHER
RELATED OFFENCES COMMISSION (ICPC)*
IN CURBING CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA'S
EDUCATION SYSTEM: A CRITICAL
ANALYSIS**

BY

**GODSPower CHIDIUTO ONWUDIWE
ONWGOD001**

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria is ranked as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Since it regained democratic status in 1999, successive governments have made several attempts to ameliorate corruption. One such attempt is the establishment of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), in 2000.

This study examined the manner in which the ICPC conceptualises corruption, including its forms and consequences. It also examined what measures it proposes to combat corruption. The ICPC's approach to corruption is evaluated in relation to the way corruption is understood in scholarly literature, especially within the education sector. The rationale for the study is that the potential effectiveness of anti-corruption activities is based, in part, on the appropriacy of the understanding of corruption that informs such activities.

To carry out this study, the annual reports of the ICPC for the period from 2009 to 2013 were analysed. These documents describe all the activities of the Commission for these years. A rigorous textual analysis was conducted, focusing on descriptions of activities of the Commission that applied across sectors, as well as descriptions of activities related to education, specifically. The strongest conclusion reached is that the approach of the ICPC could potentially be strengthened considerably if it were to be informed by engagement with scholarship relating to corruption. However, this engagement is itself subject to political will. Where there is no such engagement, or where political will is not strong, it is unlikely that the strategies that are adopted would be effective.

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GLOSSARY

ACTU	Anti-Corruption and Transparency Monitoring Unit
CDA	Community Development Association
CMED	Corruption Monitoring and Evaluation Department
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FIU	Financial Investigation Unit
IAP	International Association of Prosecutors
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JAMB	Joint Admission and Matriculation Board
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
NACC	National Anti-Corruption Coalition
NAVC	National Anti-Corruption Volunteers Corps
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NCCE	National Commission for Colleges of Education
NERDC	Nigeria Educational Research and Development Council
NECO	National Examinations Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NILCA	Nigerian Legislatures and Heads of Anti-Corruption Units
NMEC	National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education
NUC	National Universities Commission
NVC	National Values Curriculum
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PPR	Planning, Research and Review
SAV	Students' Anti-Corruption Vanguard
SDD	Special Duties Department
SEDFA	Self-Help Development Facilitators
SIT	Special Investigation Team
SSCE	Senior School Certificate Examination
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UTME	Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination
WAEC	West African Examination Council

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of the African continent. In a study conducted by Transparency International in 2016, it was revealed that out of 176 countries studied, the least corrupt African country is Botswana (and it was ranked 35th in the world, the same as Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and The Grenadines) while the highest ranked corrupt nation in sub-Saharan Africa is Somalia (as it is the least ranked nation at the 176th position) (Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, 2016). This report also showed that most of the nations in sub-Saharan Africa fall within the bottom half of the index, thus asserting sub-Saharan Africa as the most corrupt region, alongside Eastern Europe and Central Asia, with its average integrity index score of 31 (Botswana with 60 and Somalia with 10). Nigeria was ranked at the 136th position alongside Guatemala, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Myanmar and Papua New Guinea scoring an integrity index score of 28.

It is worrisome to see that corruption is entrenched on this continent as it contributes to abject poverty on a continent, which is potentially the richest, in both human and natural resources. The World Bank has blamed corruption for the failure of certain developing African countries to develop to its full potentials, including Nigeria. This is because recent empirical research has confirmed that there is a relationship between higher corruption and lower investment and growth (Treisman, 2000). The failure of its leaders to maximally harness these resources to its greatest advantage makes the impact of corruption more evident on the continent. Most of these resources are used for private interests. For example, even though Nigeria has the largest economy on the African continent, the majority of its 170 million population still live on less than one

US dollar per day (the standard economic measure of absolute poverty) (Enakhimion, 2011).

The poverty in Nigeria is partly linked to corruption. Shehu (2005) asserts that prolonged military intervention in this governance of this country, poor institutional structures, including the criminal justice system and its bureaucracy, as well as systemic corruption, are the key issues hindering this country from becoming a developed nation.

Although corruption has a huge historical presence in Nigeria, successive governments have in one way or the other tried to erect measures to curb it because it is perceived that corruption presents a major setback to the development of the country. For example, since 1999, there has been the establishments of anti-corruption agencies such as the *Economic and Financial Crimes Commission* (hereafter the EFCC), the *Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission* (hereafter the ICPC), electoral tribunals and many more.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Education has been identified as one of the defining factors that can determine the developmental path of any nation. According to Kingdom and Maekae (2013), education is expected to play the following roles in Nigeria, among others: supply the needed manpower for national development, promote social and group relationships, promote the culture of productivity and develop in individuals those values which make for good citizenship. As a result, nations allocate huge chunks of their budgets towards the development of education. If education, as the bedrock for national development (Ilechukwu, 2014), is tainted with corruption, as the case may be in most developing countries (Kaffenberger, 2012; Awojobi, 2014), the consequences are quite grievous. In

fact, even the chairman of the ICPC stated that “...locally, public perception as a corruption-ridden country persists...” in Nigeria (ICPC, 2009: 5).

According to Nwankwo and Nweke (2016), corruption is a general disease in Nigeria’s education system (which includes school proprietors, policymakers, examination councils, teachers, supervisors and invigilators) and leads to the abuse of teaching as a profession like other professional bodies in Nigeria. In fact, Nwaokugha and Ezeugwu (2017) summed it up by stating that corruption in the Nigeria’s education system:

“has multiple capabilities for undermining the national development of Nigeria. Corruption in the education industry terribly creates infrastructural deficits that result in poor instructional delivery and making many people not to have access to education which in addition to being a fundamental human right is a spring board for their empowerment and emancipation infrastructural deficits and inability of a people to have access to education systematically renders useless the ability of the people to engineer national development as generations of citizens are left frustrated, disgruntled and disenchanted in addition to manifesting terrible immorality in the forms of militancy and insurgency.”

Given the major role that education plays in national development, as stated above by Kingdom and Makae (2013) as well as Ilechukwu (2014), it is important to safeguard it from corruption by all means, including research. Although numerous studies have been conducted on the role played by anti-corruption agencies within the governmental or political sphere [Ogbu (2008), Enweremadu (2010), Waziri (2011), Oladoyin (2012), Ikpeze (2013)], little to none was thus far directed at the role that they play within the education sector. This dissertation endeavours to help fill this gap by examining how Nigeria’s foremost anti-corruption agency, the ICPC has approached the task of fighting corruption. The study has adopted the ICPC for investigation on the basis that the Commission is the first anti-corruption agency established in this country since the commencement of the 4th republic in 1999. Secondly, of the two major anti-corruption

agencies, ICPC and EFCC, the former covers a wider scope (including education) while the latter is only tasked with economic and financial crimes (...money-laundering).

PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

Because this study is based on the assumption of this study that an anti-corruption agency cannot ameliorate corruption except the agency possesses a good understanding of the scope of corruption as affirmed by the World Bank (1997), Centre of Democracy and Governance (1999), ICPC (2009) as well as Othman, Shafie and Hamid (2014), the purposes of the study are given:

- a. To examine the ICPC's conceptualisation of corruption, including its forms and consequences in order to understand corruption as a phenomenon in all its facets and to identify its consequences in, specifically the Nigerian educational system.
- b. To explore the measures proposed by the ICPC reports, as a case study, for curbing corruption in the education sector of Nigeria.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- a. How does the ICPC conceptualise corruption including its correlates, forms and consequences?
- b. Based on the above, how does the ICPC conceptualise corruption in the Nigerian education system, specifically?
- c. How does the conceptualisation of corruption, including its correlates, forms, consequences and ways of reducing it compare to the measures considered to be effective in scholarly literature?

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study is the Nigeria education system, which includes all the primary, secondary and tertiary schools in all of the thirty-six states of the country.

CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

As anti-corruption fighters continue to engage in a vigorous fight against the monster called corruption, the anti-corruption tentacles have fallen on public officials (both former and serving). The latter include elected officials, the political class, civil servants, the police and military, contractors, and business associates of public officials alongside their family members (Oregon Government Standards and Practices Commission, 2003). Although the education sector forms part of the public domain, its administrators and stakeholders have received little or no attention and their conduct has, thus, not been put under serious scrutiny. This is troublesome as the prevalence of corruption in the education sector may constitute a serious tragedy as it has the potential of destroying the quality of any nation's entire education system (Narayan & Narayan, 2014). In Nigeria, the situation is not different. Manipulations, favouritism and bribery have replaced merit and personal effort as students no longer see the need to take their studies seriously (Otomiewo, 2011). This perception has been engrafted into the worldview of the Nigerian society. The society even condones helping students to subvert the ethics, guiding education, just to acquire an academic qualification.

Several scholars have outlined various undesirable activities that are present in the nation's education system. Odia and Omofonmwan (2007), for instance, identified examination malpractice as one of the corrupt activities undermining the provision of quality education in Nigeria. Although they attribute this to a lack of self-confidence on the part of the students, they also noted that the students resort to it because of the rising costs of education (school fees, enrolment fees, cost of books and other materials) making it difficult for them to accept failure as an option. Parents, alongside, go to any length possible — even if it means breaking the rules — to ensure that their children

are not held back in their pursuit of academic qualification. In this regard, Du Plessis (2014) reports that in 2006, the chief executive of the National Examinations, in fact, authorised the council's officers to accept bribes from desperate students and parents. Tambawal (2013) further itemises other forms of examination malpractice including leakage of examination questions before the day of writing, impersonation, external assistance, smuggling of foreign materials into the examination centres and copying or reproduction of another's work without permission (plagiarism). Other forms include the intimidation of examination officials, collusion (the unauthorised passing of information between students), improper or deliberate assignment of candidates to centres that are under the supervision of corrupt officials, the establishment of ghost centres, the deliberate alteration of marks designed to increase or decrease a student's original mark and the fraudulent certification of individuals by schools. There were even reported cases of teachers encouraging students to contribute money so that they would be assisted during examinations.

While the teachers bank on the poor preparation of the students for examinations, the students bank on poor invigilation by examination officials to carry out examination malpractice. Interviews with 50 school heads in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria, for example, revealed that more than 50% of secondary school students, desperate to pass, choose to enrol and write their final year examination in interior private schools where exam success is guaranteed (Odia & Omofonmwan, 2007). Anzene (2014) adds that the administration of examinations by the West African Examination Council (WAEC), the National Examination Council (NECO) and the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) has been affected by numerous complaints of examination malpractices

as well as various organisational, administrative and bureaucratic irregularities. Even the former Minister of Education, Prof. Ruqqayatu Ahmed Rufa'I, at a National Examination Summit held in Abuja on the 24th of May 2010, stated that education malpractice during the WAEC Senior School Certificate Examination has been increasing between the years 2005 and 2009. She referred to the fact that the NECO examinations over 263,000 cases of examination malpractice during the November/December examination period and over 1,000,000 cases during the 2009 June/July schools' examinations (Aneze, 2014).

Furthermore, one of the reasons why societal respect for the teaching profession has declined, as a result of the effects of corruption, is that the relevant authorities that are supposed to maintain the ethics of the profession have failed to do so. The government alongside its agencies (such as the Ministry of Education, National Commission for Colleges of Education (NCCE), National Universities Commission (NUC), Joint Admission Matriculation Board (JAMB), the National Board for Technical education (NBTE) and many more, are responsible for running the country's education sector. Ogwuazor and Nwaham (2010) opine that government is the biggest culprit responsible for whatever ills that have befallen the country's education system. Adebisi, Adebisi and Arogundade (2012) note that the government oversees the granting of approval to private and public tertiary institutions with little or no facilities, non-provision of adequate teaching and learning facilities, political pressure on institutional administrators to admit a greater number of students than the carrying capacities of their courses. Mismanagement of funds on the part of government officials is also noticeable. An example was cited by both Ogbu (2008) and du Plessis (2014) of a former

Minister of Education, Prof. Fabian Osuji, in 2005, who allegedly paid US\$400,000.00 in bribe to six members of the National Assembly to vote for a rigged education budget. Ogbu (2008) also refers to the fact that the then acting Accountant-General of the Federation, Mr. Vincent Azie, in a report to the National Assembly, stated that the sum of ₦1,265,272,388.99 (approximately US\$11,502,476.26) was misappropriated within the education sector in 2002 alone. Ololube (2016) also claims that the Budget and Monitoring Committee of the Academic Staff Union of Universities at Obafemi Awolowo University accused the management of this institution of breaching due process and transparency in expending ₦3.5bn that was meant for the renovation of hostels and the construction of new lecture theatres. The money was part of the ₦100bn unrestricted funds that the federal government released to all Nigeria universities in 2013. He further states that out of 701 development projects in Nigeria universities, 163 (23.3%) are abandoned while 583 (76.7%) are continually under on-going projects. All these are an indication that government's complacency that expands the scope of corruption in the education sector.

ANTI-CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA: THE JOURNEY SO FAR

The Nigerian government has long identified corruption as a major obstruction to development (Aluko, 2002; Ameh, 2002; Dike, 2003; Shehu, 2005; Opara, 2007; Obuah, 2010; Enakhimion, 2011; Adesote & Abimbola, 2012 and Egwemi, 2012). Even the World Bank (1997) shares this sentiment. In a bid to ameliorate the huge presence of corruption in the country, Nigeria has embarked on massive reforms by putting in place various anti-corruption legislations such as the Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal Act, The Bank and Other Financial Institutions Act No 25, Money Laundering Act, The Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit, The National Drug Law Enforcement

Agency, The Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiatives Act, Foreign Exchange Miscellaneous Provisions Act No 17 and many more (Igbuzor, 2008). The formulation of these legislations prompted the founder and former chairman of Transparency International, Dr. Peter Eigen, to acknowledge the fact that Nigeria has genuinely embraced the need to obliterate corruption (Eigen, 2006).

Although it is obvious that the Nigerian government has recognised its corruption problem, and that it must implement its anti-corruption policies if the necessary reforms are to be achieved, more work needs to be put in place (Igbuzor, 2008). This may be traceable to various instances by the government where their actions did not match their intents, thus making the anti-corruption policies and the fight against corruption a mere symbolic approach. That is, there are currently many legislations intended to fight corruption in the country but there are fewer results (Igbuzor, 2008).

According to Igbuzor (2008), the war against corruption in Nigeria has started as far back as 1966 when corrupt activities came under the public spotlight. This led to the designing of mechanisms to deal with corrupt activities. Popular among those mechanisms was the identification of appropriate sanctions. Combating corruption was, moreover, identified as one of the main reasons for the military intervention in Nigeria during 1966. Unfortunately, experience revealed that the military was even more corrupt than the civilian politicians who reigned the country beforehand (Igbuzor, 2008).

From one dispensation to another, the fight against corruption was always reinvigorated. Before outlining some of the recent initiatives embarked upon by different Nigerian governments, some of the policy efforts previously put forward in curbing corruption is firstly recalled. Shehu (2005) mentioned the following: the

promulgation of the Public Officers (Investigation of assets) Decree No. 5 of 1966; the enactment of the Corrupt Practices Decree No. 38 of 1975, and the establishment of a Corrupt Practices Bureau; the introduction of the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) in 1984; the introduction of a Code of Conduct for Public Officers, the promulgation of the Code of Conduct Decree and the establishment of the Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal in 1989; the establishment of a national Committee on Corruption and Economic Crimes in 1989; and the introduction of War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAI&C) in 1994.

Unfortunately, all these legislations failed largely due to the lack of political will (Ugoani, 2016). In 1999, the country was readmitted into a democratic dispensation after almost 33 years of military dictatorship. This readmission reignited the consensual charter against corruption. This dispensation, stretching from 29 May 1999 to date, is commonly referred to as the 'Fourth Republic' (Yagboyaju, 2011). Nigeria has also witnessed five general elections—1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015. This means the fight against corruption has been a continuous one. Some of the anti-corruption establishments in the fourth republic, as enumerated by ActionAid Nigeria (2015: 37), include the ICPC, the EFCC and Transparency Initiatives (such as the Declaration of Assets, the Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiatives, released by the Federal Government containing, among others, details of amounts paid from the Federal Account towards itself and its local governments). Faboyede, Mukoro, Oyewo and Akande (2015) also mentioned that other initiatives put forward in the fourth republic include the implementation of reforms in civil service, financial and banking

institutions and the establishment of the Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU), which is also called the 'due process mechanism'.

The above shows a variety of legislations against corrupt activities in Nigeria but there are no specific legislations targeted at the education sector, in particular.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The logic of this chapter is to consider how corruption is understood in scholarly literature, in terms of the concept itself, its different forms, its ‘correlates’ (that is, factors associated with its presence) and the measures proposed to combat it. The study then draws on these understandings as a framework to serve as a guide in assessing/analysing the viability of the ways in which corruption is addressed in the ICPC reports.

CONCEPT OF CORRUPTION

It can be said that corruption is as old as humanity. Lipset and Lenz (2000: 112) boldly assert that:

“corruption has been ubiquitous in complex societies from ancient Egypt, Israel, Rome and Greece down to the present. Dictatorial and democratic polities, feudal, capitalist and socialist economies, Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist cultures and religious institutions have all experienced corruption, but not, of course, in equal measure.”

According to the above quote, corruption has cut across all spheres of human endeavours, from politics to religion (with the latter being a supposedly sacrosanct practice).

An encompassing definition of corruption is yet to be accepted globally (Business Anti-Corruption Portal, 2015). From an etymological point of view, the word ‘corruption’ originated from the Latin word *corrumpere*, which means *to destroy, spoil, seduce or bribe* (Online Etymological Dictionary, 2018). Simply put, it makes other things worse than the state it met them.

Even though no definition for corruption has been accepted globally, some notable definitions have been attempted. For example, the World Bank defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain (World Bank, 1997: 8). This view of corruption connotes that occupants of a public office attract benefits to themselves which were hitherto not supposed to be theirs. In as much as the World Bank is one of the front runners against corruption, their definition of corruption seems very narrow. It suggests that corruption only takes place in the public sector and is, thus, unknown within the private sector. An individual does not need to hold an office — whether public or private — to be corrupt. For example, student does not need to hold any office before engaging in a corrupt activity by bringing an external material to cheat during an examination.

Another global agency, Transparency International, a non-governmental organisation that monitors and publicises corporate and political corruption in international development, posits that corruption involves the abuse of entrusted power for private gain (Pope, 2000). This definition suggests that one must first be entrusted with power before one can be corrupt.

Klitgaard (1998: 23) offers a more elaborated view on corruption. He suggests that corruption involves any “behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding behaviour”. This view is similar to the definition given by the World Bank and Transparency International in that it holds the view that corruption only wiggles around the circuit of public office holders. In positing that corruption emanates from a

derivation from formal duties, it is implied that a non-public office holder cannot be corrupt.

According to Sen (1999), corruption connotes a perversion or change from good to bad; specifically, it is the violation of established rules for personal gain or profit; that is, a situation where entrusted power to politicians is misused for selfish reasons. This view also focuses narrowly on those who are in public office, especially the political class.

In a similar vein, Enakhimion (2011) describes corruption as the use of public resources for personal gain and the marginalisation of accepted norms of behaviour. Again, this focus is on public resources. Other authors who emphasise public or official power for private gain include Salisu (2000) and Myint (2000).

Although Jain (2001) notes that it is difficult to arrive at a precise definition for corruption, he affirms that the consensus behind its definition is that it refers to the acts in which the power of the public office is used for personal gain in a manner that goes against the rules of the game.

Sullivan (2001), to the contrary, takes a broader view on corruption by including all practices aiming at making money in a quick manner. When defining corruption, Ogbuke and Enojo (2007) as well as Asobie (2000) place greater emphasis on aspects such as dishonesty, immorality, non-ethics and illegality, as well as inducement to dishonesty.

None of the definitions referred to provides for a full scope of corruption that this seeks. In recognising that corruption does not only exist within the public domain and it is not limited to the political sphere (Lipset and Lenz, 2000). Due to Wei's (2017) experience,

namely that the existence of an accepted legal definition of corruption assisted to lessen the corruption rate in the United States of America, it is essential to reach a consensus over the behaviour regarded as leading to corruption in general.

This study shall attempt its working definition of corruption. Afterward, it shall further attempt to define corruption in education. Firstly, corruption can be defined broadly as *the misuse of resources for reasons that gives one unmerited favour or advantage*.

The term ‘public resources’ has been omitted from the above definition on the basis that, sometimes the resources that are being misused may not necessarily belong to the public. An example of this can be seen in a partnership where there are two or more people involved: one of them may tend to connive with fellow partners (either within or outside the partnership) to dubiously accrue more benefits to themselves. In this case, it does not necessarily have to do with resources from the public.

CORRELATES OF CORRUPTION

The Centre of Democracy and Governance (1999) as well as Othman, Shafie and Hamid (2014) highlight the importance of understanding the causes of corruption in order to fight it. It is, however, very difficult to pinpoint specific causes of corruption, either in Nigeria or anywhere else in the world. In arguing that the causes of corruption — in essence, a product of rational thought — have their roots firmly embedded in the socio-cultural practices and political and economic systems of a society, Shehu (2005) prefers to refer to the ‘correlates’ rather than the causes of corruption. Hence, it would be misleading to assume that factors associated with corruption in one country (such as Nigeria), would automatically contribute to corruption in other countries. Shehu (2005) further argues that, although the presence of factors such as crime, unemployment,

poverty and underdevelopment in systems may serve as correlates of corruption, conducting corrupt activities directly stem from an “individual motivation based on intention, opportunity, target availability, the absence of capable guardians, as well as the accessibility of means and resources”.

Another argument raised by Shehu (2005), concerning the difficulty experienced in ascertaining the causes of corruption is that, unlike other conventional crimes such as murder and robbery, corruption does not have a clear victim who is likely to complain and there is no visible occurrence that can be reported by witnesses. Quite often, those who have significant knowledge about the corrupt activity that has been perpetuated have, most likely, benefited from it, thus, making it ‘unnecessary’ to report such offence.

Although many correlates of corruption may exist, those applicable to the educational sector can broadly be categorised into two main categories, namely *economic* and *social* correlates.

Economic Correlates

This category connotes those correlates that are finance or resource related.

Poverty and/or a lack of funding

According to Aluko (2002), poverty can be a possible correlate of corruption. He states that, as the economic gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, the tendency of the poor to sell their conscience to the rich increases. Since poverty and unemployment go together, the poor (who may not have a steady source of income) can become vulnerable to all forms of social vices including corruption. Shleifer and Vishny (1993) as well as Ali and Isse (2003), subsequently conclude that countries with poor economies (including Nigeria) tend to have higher levels of corrupt practices which can

further make the growth rates worse. In other words, poverty can influence people to succumb to various kinds of temptations and pressures. Poor people and even economically strapped businesses can thus easily be 'settled' as they are willingly ready to do anything possible, without considering whether it is legal or illegal, just to survive. Their argument would often be that, because they are poor and do not have any rational option, they may indulge in corrupt practices. Johnston (2009) exemplifies this in a scenario where the police conduct shakedowns in a public market or set roadblocks in the countryside so that farmers or even taxi drivers must pay up for them to ply the road. Although it is illegal for the police to engage in such acts, the farmers may acquiesce to the request of the police. The drivers of trucks may be less likely to succumb than the petty farmers. While the police may eventually get certain amounts of money in their acts of extortion, they have helped to make the poor people poorer. This argument would suggest that an increase in corruption can be proportional to the rate of poverty and that the poorer the country, the less likely it is that they would allocate adequate resources to build an effective legal system (Dimant & Tosato, 2017) with the capacity to contain corruption.

ActionAid Nigeria (2015) echoes Aluko's (2002) sentiments about the correlates of corruption but adds that the relationship between poverty and corruption can also be an indirect one. That is, poverty does not automatically make one corrupt but it can lead one into a corrupt activity.

However, poor people are not the only ones that may be corrupt. In Begovic's (2005) argument, both the rich and poor can be corrupt. It depends on their levels of involvement. While a poor person can bribe a police officer for whatever benefit, the

rich can develop mechanisms to evade tax payment. In fact, they can even offer huge bribes as well to get certain favours.

With regards to the education system, corruption within the administrative echelon can adversely affect the funding of the sector. Odia and Omofonwan (2007) state that Nigeria's education system is experiencing gross under-funding and neglect with regards to the maintenance of physical facilities such as schools, classrooms, libraries and laboratories. Meier (2004) adds that conditions like this can put the school under pressure to yield to corrupt activities to raise funds.

Poor salary structure

There is general concord that low governmental wages not only lead to a decline in public service efficiency and productivity, but also creates incentives and opportunities for corrupt behaviour and the misuse of public resources (Chêne, 2009). This assertion is in line with a study carried out by Lambsdorff (2006). His study results indicate that low salaries and poor reward systems often compel civil servants to supplement their income illicitly. Gaomad (2005) adds that low-paid civil servants may be tempted to misuse their positions to accept bribes in order to make ends meet, especially when the consequence of their action is relatively low. Another study carried out in low-income countries by Azfar and Nelson (2007), however, confirms Lambsdorff's (2006) argument that, although increasing government wages may reduce corruption levels, it will not necessarily eliminate it.

With specific reference to the education sector, Meier (2004), poses that inadequate salaries and irregular or delayed payments tempt teachers to seek alternatives to supplement their income. He further stated that the fact that teachers' salaries may be

inadequate was confirmed by a report from Moldova as teachers in large numbers left their positions simply because they could not survive on their salaries alone. Some, who did not leave, sought to supplement their income by engaging in extensive subsistence gardening or work several shifts. In addition, U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre (a global campaigner against corruption) claims that, although poverty is the main driver of corruption in this sector, insufficient funding for schools and salaries may also be a result of corruption and leakage further up the line (U4, 2006).

Unemployment

The symbiotic relationship between unemployment and corruption is highlighted by Udin and Udin (2013) stating that corruption is a product of unemployment. In agreement, Saha and Gounder (2009) state that people living in developed countries characterised by high unemployment and underemployment rates, would be willing to buy or sell civil service positions just to secure an earning position with stability and reasonable income opportunities for themselves leading to corrupt behaviour if due process is not followed.

The results of a study carried out by Bouzid (2016) in developing countries, with regards to the education sector, indicate that resources can be diverted where self-motivated officials would use their discretionary power in selecting the candidates (teachers) of their choice who may be less qualified for the job while the more qualified teachers remain unemployed.

Donors' insubordination

The gross under-funding plaguing the Nigerian education system has opened the doors for external players such as donors and lenders, whose presence alone can trigger opportunities for corruption. According to U4 (2006), donors and lenders tend to risk

flooding the education system with funds which the bureaucracies cannot absorb responsibly. For example, when mid- and low-mid level officials are tasked with implementing certain anti-corruption measures which may have emanated from the Ministry or the donor community, there is usually a special dynamic that comes into play. In order to obtain positive results under pressure, such personnel may attempt to cut corners, ignore already-set rules and bypass standard procedures, all hampering the delivery of education to the nation.

Lack of infrastructure

Meier (2004) suggests that poor quality of facilities such as roads, railways and telephones, may facilitate corruption. In education specifically, it may, for example make it difficult or even impossible for inspectors to visit schools, thus hampering the regulation of the distribution of funds allocated for school materials.

Social Correlates

These include those correlates that affect several institutions within the society.

Weak enforcement mechanisms

When enforcement mechanisms and prosecutorial institutions meant to deter and eliminate corruption are weak and thus incapable of sanctioning corrupt members of society, a vacuum for corruption is created. Corruption may even be the reason for such forces' weaknesses (Rotimi, Obasaju, Lawal and IseOlorunkanmi, 2013). From an educational point of view, Animasahun (2013) lamented that one of the reasons why corruption in Nigeria's education system is that many of the law enforcement agents use their positions to extort money from students in order to shield them from being prosecuted for corrupt behaviour. These enforcement agents cover the schools and specific students carry out their corrupt acts during examinations.

Slow judicial process

Papaioannou (2011) emphasises that, legal inefficiency, due to conflicting laws, limited law enforcement and slow judicial processes, across and within countries, fosters corruption. The absence of technological equipment (such as updated databases to keep records of judgements) can, according to Arvidsson and Folkesson (2010), for example, not only slow down court processes on corrupt practices but also makes it easier for corrupt behaviour to pass by unnoticed and unpunished.

Within the education sector, if the judicial process regarding corrupt behaviour in schools is slow, it may not serve as a deterrent to other people.

Political instability

Dimant and Tosato (2016) suggest that the relationship between political instability and corruption can be viewed from two perspectives. First is the horizon effect, where if one has low stability, one's short-term decision-making horizon could increase the likelihood that that one would engage in corrupt practices. Secondly, certain forms of corruption require a huge amount of time to complete. As a result, a corrupt individual overseeing, for example infrastructure projects, would embark on extreme political stability until that project is completed as this would enable the incumbent and private sector to establish a corrupt relationship. Abu, Karim and Aziz (2015) are of the opinion that political instability (alongside corruption) is one of the main reasons why the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), including Nigeria, region as well as its education system is still largely underdeveloped as this region has been blighted with series of military take-over over the years.

Lack of political will

According to Ugoani (2016), political will involves the demonstration of a genuine aspiration of political leaders and significant stakeholders to address the causes and effects of corruption at the systemic level. Furthermore, without the institutionalising of political will, the war against corruption will only end in futility. This seems to be the case of Nigeria. Even with many anti-corruption legislations, the huge presence of corruption is felt in all sectors, including education.

Inefficient bureaucratic and administrative structures

Nwankwo, Ananti and Madubueze (2015) state that bureaucratic corruption emanates from improper administrative procedures being followed. An inefficient bureaucracy can, according to Blackburn, Bose and Haque (2004) be a correlate of corruption, especially when civil servants or bureaucrats exploit their powers of discretion, delegated to them by government, to further their selfish interests by engaging in illegal and/or unauthorised activities. Such exploitation may, as set forward by Meier (2004) and U4 (2006), be due to the fact that inadequate organisational structures usually fail to provide incentives for improved performance by their servants and for control mechanisms and sanctions regulating the discretionary power allocated to such servants. In many developing countries like Nigeria, authoritarian and centralised systems hinder opportunities for growth and a generally weak system paves the way for the staff to obtain undue advantage from their positions. For example, when allocated funds, as Ololube (2016) asserts, are not duly disbursed by the school gatekeepers, this can create room for corruption.

Low societal and cultural ethics

The Nigerian society is known for having the culture of celebrating the affluent irrespective of the source of their wealth. Some members of the Nigerian society have

imbibed a 'get-rich' syndrome (Moyosore, 2015). Where societal values condone and promote corrupt behaviour, people who acquire affluence and buy influence through corrupt enrichment are usually bestowed with national and local respect and honours (Dike, 2002 and Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013). What is even more damaging about such aculture is that it sets the tone for a new breed of public servants to engage in corrupt practices (Okolo & Akpokighe, 2014). According to Maduegbuna (2005), one main reason why this culture may continue is that the benefits of corruption tend to outweigh the consequences of being caught and prosecuted. Relating to the Nigerian education sector, Adebisi, Adebisi and Arogunde (2012) believe that a 'get-rich' syndrome can force students, teachers and administrative officials go engage in examination malpractice for quick money.

Lack of community involvement

Corruption can come into effect when the public (direct stakeholders) does not participate in the monitoring, supervision and management of public investments (from the first phase of planning to the final stage of implementation), especially when these investments or allocations are for beneficiaries such as school administration, teachers, parents and students, (Transparency International, 2011). Meier (2004) maintains that, in the case of school administration, if parents are not involved or given a sense of ownership, there is every likelihood that they would not hold the teachers and administrators accountable for their actions. In the same vein, if the public is oblivious of the expected educational outcomes from schools, there is a tendency that they may not claim their children's right to education.

Absence of whistle-blowing culture

In most societies, there is fear of being apprehended if one reports corrupt cases to the relevant authorities. A study carried out by Transparency International in Vietnam revealed that most of the people interviewed for the study claimed that parents believe that, when teachers are regularly given gifts, their children's performance at school would be positively influenced (Transparency International, 2011). These parents did not perceive this act as corruption, but rather as a normal token of respect to teachers. Although this act of gift-giving can be seen as an outward sign of 'Asian Values', it can also be used as a catalyst for teachers and parents to flirt with and engage in corrupt practices while having their conscience gradually eased. In this case, none would see the need to report such.

Emphasis on certification

Anzene (2014) states that, if there is huge emphasis on paper certification in a society, instead of emphasis on knowledge, skills and competence, the resultant effect would be an increase in the occurrence of examination malpractice. The Nigerian society places huge emphasis on paper qualification above competence. This, as Adebisi, Adebisi and Arogunde (2012) put it, would make most Nigerian students do whatever is required, whether legal or illegal, to get a paper qualification but at the end become unemployable.

FORMS OF CORRUPTION

Just as defining the term corruption has not been easy, also categorising its forms has been problematic. According to Morris (2011), an easy way of differentiating forms of corruption is by centring it on the institutional location of the public official involved (for example, corruption within the executive branch, the legislature or the judiciary,

local government, the police, teachers, customs agents, as well as building and educational inspectors). However, he further outlines two broad categories of corruption based on institutional location as 'upper-level' and 'lower-level' corruption; where upper-level corruption involves presidents, ministers, members of the legislature, governors and other high-ranking officials: lower-level corruption involves ordinary civil servants.

In categorising corruption, Begovic (2005) identifies three basic categories. The first category refers to corrupt ways of achieving or speeding-up the materialisation of some specific right that a citizen or legal entity is entitled to (corruption without theft). For example, when a person bribes a civil servant in charge of issuing a passport that the briber/corruptor is entitled to. In this case, civil servants are corrupted to do their job or to do it faster than usually, instead of not doing it at all. The second category is administrative corruption where there is violation of legal rules or there is a very biased enforcement of the rules. The third category is termed 'state capture'. This refers to corruption that is aimed at changing the existing rules and regulations into rules and regulations that favour the interests of the corruptor. That is, public policies are formulated to favour a few oligarchs and not the public.

Another attempt to categorise corruption, put forward by Vargas-Hernandez (2009), classifies corruption into three broad categories: political, economic and public administration. Political corruption, in this case, refers to behaviours that deviate from the principles that guide politics and policies where decisions are adapted with abuse of power. Economic corruption, on the other hand, refers to the sacrifice of the principal's interest for the agent's interest which results in making profits, while administrative

corruption refers to the behaviours of public agents neglecting the principles of efficiency, truthfulness and rightfulness.

Mashal (2011) categorises corruption into three types. First, grand corruption which connotes the acts of the political elite or selected officials exploiting their power to make economic policies. Second, bureaucratic corruption (also known as petty corruption and it is the most common form) connotes the corrupt acts of bureaucrats in their dealings with either their superior (political elite) or with the public. The third category is legislative corruption. This has to do with the manner and the extent to which the voting behaviour of legislators can be influenced, usually through bribery.

In the views of Keeper (2012) and Mussie (2016), corruption can generally be categorised into six types: political, bureaucratic, private, collective, extractive and redistributive forms of corruption. Political or grand corruption takes place when politicians, political decision-makers or state agents, who are entitled to make and enforce the laws are corrupt themselves. Bureaucratic or petty corruption refers to corruption that happens in the public administration, at the implementation end of politics such as auditing, legislation and institutional arrangements. Corruption is said to be private or individual when private benefits are sought and collected by the corrupt actor, his family or close friends whereas collective corruption takes place when a conspiracy between individuals easily extends into a larger practice involving colleagues, partners, assistants, patrons and superiors. In extractive corruption, resources flow from the society to the state while redistributive corruption sees resources flow from the state to society (Mussie, 2016).

This study adopted the simplest and most useful categorisation of corruption, namely petty, grand and systemic. However, within that these categories, sub-categories are introduced.

Petty corruption

Since the word ‘petty’ connotes ‘small’, petty corruption would etymologically connote the corrupt practices that are perpetuated on a small scale. This type of corruption is low-level in nature and usually occurs in the common places. Bhargava (2005) sees petty corruption as the payment of comparatively small amounts of money intended to facilitate routine official transactions; these transactions may include customs clearance and the issuing of routine permits. Lambert-Mongiliansky, Mujumdar and Radner (2007) warn that the usage of the term ‘petty corruption’ should not be looked at from its total impact on government income or policy’s perspective but on the size of each of the transactions that constitute a corrupt activity. To this end, Lambert-Mongiliansky et al. (2008) describe it as anti-poor, anti-development, anti-growth and anti-investment as well as a creator of an environment that undermines the legitimacy of the state. Poeschl and Ribeiro (2012) also state that middle or low-level public officials who may be underpaid, are often involved in this form of corruption but assert that although petty corruption involves small amounts of money, it generally harms the poorest members of a society in their interactions with public services such as schools, hospitals, police, tax administration and many more. That is, public officials abuse their powers for small bribes, benefits or more serious forms of corruption on managerial levels. Unfortunately, because of the ‘small amounts’ involved in it, Van Vuuren (2004) notes that it is often overlooked as an area of concern in the public debate.

Malachi (2016) adds that bureaucratic (or administrative) corruption can also be petty corruption. This is because bureaucratic principles are usually broken or undermined by public officials. This corruption is corruption of need, that is, public officials would cash in on the fact the citizens need certain services (from the police, schools, tax offices etc.). A good example of this form of corruption would be cases, as cited by Begovic (2005), where an individual would pay bribes for services that they are originally entitled to and, in most cases, the bribes are paid to hasten processes.

Grand corruption

Grand corruption is the type of corruption that pitches its tents around politicians. Malachi (2016) states that it can also be called political corruption. In this type of corruption, politicians and political decision-makers, who are entitled to formulate, establish and implement the laws in the name of the people, are themselves corrupt. In other words, the people who are meant to work towards the reduction of corruption, directly or indirectly, contribute to its growth. Jain (2001) sees grand corruption as those acts of the political elite by which they exploit their power to make economic policies; that is, this occurs when the political elite change either national policies or the implementation of national policies to serve their own interests at some cost to the populace. In the words of Robben (1998), grand corruption connotes “the purposeful and secretive violation of the standards of moral behaviour in a certain political community by politicians [and/or any other corrupt party or parties].”

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2016) states that grand corruption occurs when leaders maximise personal wealth rather than the welfare and wellbeing of the population. This is made possible because of the large amounts of or complete control over political powers leaders have. Leaders would use a fraction of the

wealth that they have fraudulently amassed from the state to buy the loyalty of the people they see as the key players in the running of the state. This position makes it very difficult for such a leader to be questioned or prosecuted as the people who were meant to maintain checks and balances in the state have already been bought over. Thus, such leaders are helped to remain in office for as long as they want as both civic rights and public institutions that may rise in opposition to any form of breaches in social contracts would be undermined. Kenny and Søreide (2008) give examples of grand corruption as allegations of political corruption in too expensive power project in India in 1993; allegations of bribery for telecom and railway contracts in Costa Rica, Taiwan and Africa from 2000 – 2003; alleged corruption behind power plant deal in Philippines in 2001; transfers made to influence the award of water contracts in Italy in 2002; and a biased decision by the Tanzanian government in favour of incompetent electricity in February 2008.

Systemic corruption

Etymologically, it can be said that systemic corruption is simply corruption existing within systems of an organisation or country. In the view of Nicholls, Daniel, Bacarese and Hatchard (2011: 4), systemic corruption refers to “corruption brought about, encouraged or promoted by the system itself.” In this kind of situation, Laver (2014) opines that this problem (systemic corruption) does not only reflect an absence of [adherence to] formal rules (which can sometimes be a problem) but also reflects a competing and conflicting set of informal rules or norms. Similarly, when systemic corruption is in place, it does not mean that formal rules do not exist but rather that the formal rules are overpowered by the informal rules or norms. It is the outcome of a government, organisation or process that is flawed with non-compliance to the rule of

law or code of conduct. Systemic corruption is found within the confines of a group of people, sector or institution and thus has a massive presence at all levels of society.

Within systemic corruption, corrupt activities are seen as a way of life. It is expected that every individual within that society knows that, although it is unethical to be corrupt, it is also not avoidable simply because it has been structured as the 'easier' route to get what you want. According to Hope and Chikulo (2000), systemic corruption is intrinsically connected to a set of ethics that has shaped the way and manner that society operates. Here, corrupt activities tend to be normalised and regularised where both the public and private sectors are no exceptions. The informal rules and norms encourage corrupt behaviour from citizens and officials. This kind of corruption—also known as endemic corruption—is clearly not a special kind of corrupt practice but a situation where all the institutions and processes of the state have been dominated by corrupt groups and individuals, where most people do not have alternative means of dealing with corrupt officials (U4, 2011). Hence, officials and individuals at every level engage in corrupt activities and the citizens are aware of this practice. The citizens themselves know that there are extensive practices involving bribes, embezzlements of funds, unlawful acquisition of certain properties or favours etc. going on in the state. Stefes (2008: 3) notes that this type of corruption “inevitably affects political and economic developments.”

However, systemic corruption does not happen on its own. There are many factors that would necessitate systemic corruption. Lorena and Raul (2001) list such factors as a culture of impunity, low pay, lack of transparency, conflicting incentives, discretionary powers and monopolistic powers. A very good example of systemic corruption in Nigeria

was itemised by Keeper (2012) where an Australian national asserted that he was compelled by his Nigerian principals (who were in government by then) to inflate a contract to the sum of N5.5bn.

Within the three main forms of corruption introduced above, one can also categorise forms of corruption as financial, administrative, academic or professional. However, there is a long list of more specific types of corruption that falls within these three main categories and four subcategories. It is useful to have some kind of a list of such corrupt acts, with the definitions of what these acts entail. Some corrupt acts can overlap across two main categories or subcategories.

	Petty	Grand	System
Financial	Illegal fees for admission School funds diverted for private interest Bribes paid to get admitted or employed by a school	Taking too much responsibilities beyond one's capacity to make more money at the expense of the students Embezzlement of funds for political campaigns	Embezzlement of funds for political campaigns
Administrative	Favouritism	Misallocation of talents Unfairness and partiality in education Favouritism	Waste and unequal use of education resources Misallocation of talents Unfairness and partiality in education Favouritism
Academic	Different categories of bribe paid to be promoted, obtain a certificate or diploma Plagiarism Examination malpractice	Taking too much responsibilities beyond one's capacity to make more money at the expense of the students	Institutions set up as certificate mills
Professional	Sexual favours for marks or promotion Plagiarism	Receiving full-time salaries from more than one employment at the same time	Favouritism

Table 1: Classification of examples of specific corrupt acts in education

The table above was derived from Amundsen (2000), Chapman (2003) as well as Ojo and Ofojebe (2008).

Financial corruption

Financial corruption in education is seen where those at the helms of affairs within the educational sector direct their activities towards looting the treasury of the sector or institutions within the sector. They use their positions to orchestrate financial corruption in education. Transparency International (2009) gives examples of this kind of corruption as government's under-funding of the education sector, misallocation of schools' resources and use of schools' funds for different projects other than its intended

use. Others include the allocation of specific allowances (such as fellowships, subsidies and grants), the offering of bribes, fraud, extortion embezzlements and ghost deliveries.

Administrative corruption

Administrative corruption in education is similar to the above-mentioned form of education corruption. Although, both forms involve people in top positions, the former is mostly financially-related while the latter entails every form of corruption that arises from the use of an official position to effect bias in their transactions. In this category, the corrupt activities go beyond financial benefits. They include, for example, the partial distribution of educational materials (textbooks, furniture, transport facilities and school meals), purchasing unnecessary equipment, bias in the appointment and deployment of educational stakeholders/teachers (nepotism and favouritism), discrimination against or the victimisation of teachers because of their political, social or ethnic affiliations, delay in the payment of salaries, and unauthorised deductions being made. According to Poisson (2010), corrupt practices that are usually associated with administration include the administration of examinations, admissions to university and/or the accreditation of institutes of higher learning.

Academic corruption

Academic corruption, specifically in education, as seen by Ojo and Ofojebe (2008), can result when policies in education are merely watered down for individuals within the academic setup in order for them to get certain benefits they are not qualified for. One of the dangers of this practice is that it encourages laziness and complacency among educational practitioners. Examples of this form of academic corruption include plagiarism in research, teacher incompetence, examination malpractice, fraud in the selection of authors, the bypass of copyright law, impersonation, certificate forgery, the

selling of makeshift copies of textbook extracts, and lecturers having up to five jobs at different universities where their effectiveness would be negatively hampered yet receiving their full salaries.

Professional corruption

Professional corruption, specifically in education, is similar to academic corruption in education. In this case, the focus is on teacher behaviour, otherwise known as professional misconduct, where teachers' professional ethics are undermined to carry out a corrupt activity. The main difference between this and academic corruption in education is that the former does not always relate to academics. Examples of this would include teachers' absenteeism, ghost workers, illegal fees (for school entrance, exams, assessment and private tutoring) sexual harassment of students by teachers, payment for information that should be provided free, selecting/suppressing information, irregularity in producing and publishing information as well as manipulating data. Bakari and Leach (2009) and Collins (2009) agree that sexual exploitation is a frequent form of professional misconduct in sub-Saharan Africa.

CONSEQUENCES OF CORRUPTION

According to the World Bank (1997), understanding the consequences of corruption on an economy or political system can help in identifying specific types of activities that constitute corruption. Although most scholars see the consequences of corruption from a negative point of view, interestingly there are also some who see some positive effect in corruption. One of the first scholars to have highlighted the positive role that corruption plays in the growth of any economy is Nathaniel Leff. Voskanyan (2000) states that since 1964, Nathaniel Leff's article titled, 'Economic Development through Bureaucratic Corruption' has remained one of the most fondly cited articles when it

comes to the positive consequences of corruption. Voskanyan maintains that, “corruption in the form of bribing can be an important arm in the hands of entrepreneurs seeking to do business with a hostile or indifferent government and may, indeed stimulate the development process.” Heckelman and Powell (2008) echo Voskanyan’s (2000) sentiments by stating that corruption is needed to get things done in much of the third world. A bribe can help increase efficiency in some sense by cutting off unnecessary time needed to process licenses and paperwork.

However, most scholars have negative perceptions of corruption. According to Voskanyan (2000), studies have shown that, if corruption is tolerated, there is a high chance of serious negative effects on the development of the economy and political landscape of a country. All the consequences of corruption can be subdivided into two: *economic* and *social*. These two sub-divisions are however inter-related.

Economic consequences

With regard to negative consequences, corruption can be detrimental to entrepreneurship, taxation, local private investments, planning, and foreign aid (Amundsen, 1999). Those who indulge in giving and receiving bribes exploit the wealth of the nation. Thus, many citizens become increasingly poor, thereby increasing the poverty level of an entire country. Such corruption often becomes systemic (Onimajesin, 2008).

Secondly, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is generally found to be on the decline in a corrupt society. With globalisation being a major trend in the last two decades, FDI has, however, been on the increase. There have been concerns with the rate that corruption has risen in *pari passu* with globalisation. Because of the latter, international strategic

alliances (as seen in mergers and acquisitions) have been based much more on mutual trust (Castro & Nunes, 2013) than on business standards, government ethics and regulations becoming more difficult.

Corruption also reduces productivity over time. A study carried out by Lambsdorff (2003), found that corruption can drastically reduce productivity in several ways. One of these ways is that governments would either be unable or unwilling to meet up with the demands on public welfare because of wasteful rent seeking or misleading public decisions.

Another economic effect of corruption is unemployment. According to a study carried out in Pakistan by Qadar and Muhammed (2013), it was revealed that unemployment can be an outcome of corruption. This is seen in the inequality in employee selection criteria from the employers.

In as much as corruption can speed up business transactions as seen above (as a positive consequence of corruption), it can also cause huge delays in the economic growth of any country. Ahmed, Ullah and Arfeen (2012) argue that the economic growth of a nation is delayed when there are delays in the bureaucratic processes necessary for investment because of the many unlawful benefits inherent in an investment or transaction.

Social consequences

The effects of corruption most often fall on the people who are not privileged to be in the ruling class. Its damaging effects arise from the unbalanced allocation of resources since the resources are diverted away from the function that they would have been if there were not corruption. With corruption in place, only a selected few are privileged

to enjoy the wealth of the nation. This creates a hugely unequal divide between the rich and poor where the corrupt officials tend to thrive in affluence and the individuals who miss out wallow in abject poverty (Johansson & Lext, 2013).

Every society has laws and regulations that are meant to protect the interest of the public in areas such as environmental control, building codes, banking regulations and traffic laws. If any of these laws are violated for economic gain through any corrupt means, it can cause serious social harm. Examples of such social harm include soil erosion which can result from illegal water-logging; violation of building codes by both corrupt officials and contractors which can result in the collapse of buildings; failure to maintain proper fire prevention and safety regulations can cause buildings (and even people) to go up in flames (Myint, 2000).

According to Bonga, Chiminya and Mudzingiri (2015), corruption affects service delivery. They assert that when corruption causes a misdirection of the assignment of unemployment or disability benefits, then there will be delays in the payment of pensions and the weakening of the provision of basic public services (which in such cases, the poor suffer most). This situation deters social safety.

Corruption in education will lead to a generally weak education system. Transparency International (2011) opines that, where the level of corruption in education management is relatively low, there would be considerable leakages of financial resources such as embezzlement and fraud. Since budgetary allocation for education is usually the biggest in most countries and usually administered by the state, corruption risks tend to increase when these allocations are decentralised, especially when they are not backed up with effective control mechanisms (Transparency International, 2011).

Memory and Memory (2013) hold the view that corruption causes a decline in the benefits of education, especially at tertiary level, is expected to contribute meaningfully to national development through workforce training and helping individuals develop proper values that are needed for survival in society. Unfortunately, a few universities are now seen as projects for money-making.

A low quality of education outcomes is another consequence of corruption in education. In a study carried out by Transparency International (2011) in Vietnam, it was discovered that corruption has a huge impact on the overall quality of education in this country as the commitment of teachers and the earnestness of students were most affected. This situation further creates a poor atmosphere for study and work that demotivates educational stakeholders and impedes the entire system. Udenka (2013) states that as a result, many schools would give high scores to their students in order to attract more students and the products of such a system would be of low quality as they do not properly go through the system.

COMBATIVE MEASURES AGAINST CORRUPTION

The fight against corruption has been a global one. Many bodies, agencies and even governments have adopted measures to fight it. However, apart from proposing actual measures, scholars also suggest that the success of these measures depends on broader social and political conditions.

Langseth (1999) notes that economic and social progress, democratic values, a strong civic society as well as the rule of law under good governance are some of the basic tools needed to champion any anti-corruption reform. Gonzalez de Asis (2006) believes that

with a strong political will as a precondition alongside the simplification of administrative procedures and citizen participation, corruption can be reduced.

With a twenty-year plan for Poland, a team of researchers outlined the following as what should be considered if the fight against corruption would be realistic:

“...changing citizens’ attitudes in such a way that the absence of corruption is considered a normal state of affairs; instilling in the public consciousness the belief that the authorities have a responsibility to continually fight against corruption; carrying out activities along three tracks: prevention, law enforcement and education; putting Poland in the top ten EU countries in terms of transparency...”
(Czubek, Kopinska, Sawicki, Wojciechowska-Nowak and Wojciechowicz, 2010: 6)

Kaufmann (1997) itemises two main anti-corruption strategies as ex-post or curative measures and ex-ante or preventive measures. Under the ex-post measures, a corrupt activity happens first before the corruptor is caught and prosecuted while the ex-ante measures advocate for the use of prevention as a way of reducing corruption.

Like Kaufman, Saunders (2014), argues that any organisation or institution that seeks to fight corruption can either use a reactive response strategy or proactive, or preventive response strategy. While reactive strategies consist of compliance training, integrity testing, zero tolerance policies, codes of conduct, business collective actions, supplier “white-lists” rewards to whistle-blowers and integrity pacts, proactive strategies include whistle-blower hotlines, whistle-blower protection and the supply of “black-lists”. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD: 2016) proposes that efforts towards improving governance frameworks and strengthening actions on prevention as well as the detection and sanctioning of corruption in following a holistic and coordinated approach, can bring an end to corruption.

Other writers list more specific measures of combating corruption. For example, a Senior Investigation Officer of the Anti-Corruption Commission of Namibia, Abraham Nikolous Ihalua (2012), outlines five effective measures to prevent and combat corruption. These measures include investigation of corrupt individuals and activities, prosecution of corrupt individuals after investigations, adjudication of corrupt matters in reputable courts of laws, as well as the confiscation of the proceeds of corruption.

McCusker (2006) reviewed the anti-corruption strategies in Australia and categorised them into three schools of thought: interventionism, management and organisational integrity. According to him, in interventionism, the relevant authorities first wait for corruption to take place before moving to arrest and prosecute the offender. Management refers to when individuals who would tend to engage in a corrupt practice are discouraged or prevented from doing so by establishing appropriate systems, procedures and protocols. Organisational integrity, on the other hand, refers to the integration of an organisation's operational systems, measures that control corruption and ethical standards so that a norm of ethical behaviour is created.

Intervention and prosecution

This refers to a situation where relevant agencies intervene, investigate, arrest and prosecute individuals guilty of corrupt behaviour. Most countries have adopted this strategy by establishing anti-graft watchdogs (anti-corruption commissions and agencies) to carry out this process. These agencies are usually empowered by the constitution to prosecute offenders. Those confronted with corrupt practices and administrative bias can go to these agencies to report such incidents with the view that the perpetrators will face the wrath of the law. Langseth (2004) admonishes that these agencies—which are also known as complaint mechanisms—should not only be

permanent institutions in every country but also, there should be as many as possible; they should also be run in a way where both citizens and public servants will be able to report any form of corrupt activities. In this regard, the security of the reporters (whistle-blowers) should also be of paramount concern for these agencies.

Ideally, such agencies should be able to reach beyond the borders of their country. One of the provisions of the OECD Convention in 2000 (OECD, 2000) was that member country must establish a jurisdiction to prosecute and punish corrupt individuals even when they travel abroad. Persson, Rothstein and Teorell (2013) suggested that, for this to happen, the rule of law must be strengthened (backed up with the right political will). Since the objective of a country/organisation is to get rid of corruption as quickly as possible, attention can be given to those cases of corruption that involve prominent figures, where huge amounts of money have been carted or service delivery has been impaired. These individuals can be used as scapegoats by being given heavy sanctions to instil integrity consciousness on the citizens. Waziri (2011) adds that this can be achieved by establishing special courts to help quicken the process, which are on the same level as the Court of Appeal, as seen in the Philippines. Afterwards, these anti-corruption agencies can embark on proactive measures, like establishing new ethical principles and (re)training of government officials. Langseth (2004) further advises that, in a situation where there is a huge presence of corruption, certain forms of amnesty can be appropriated.

According to McCusker (2006), anti-corruption strategies advocate retribution, rehabilitation and deterrence. However, its drawbacks include that harm has already occurred and cannot be undone; the majority of the crimes remain unreported; and that

the demand on the finite resources will incontrovertibly become infinite given the degree of supervision necessary to ensure that the deterrence effect operates.

Management

In the view of McCusker (2006), management (as an anti-corruption strategy) connotes a situation where those individuals and/or agencies that look forward to engaging in corrupt behaviour can either be discouraged or prevented from doing such by appropriate systems, procedures and protocols. Management can also reduce or eliminate those opportunities that, in one way or the other, create a platform for corruption to take place.

One of the ways of limiting such opportunities is establishing direct contact between the government and the governed. Gonzalez de Asis (2006) notes that the reform process and the sustainability of local government integrity can be propelled when citizens' participation in government activities is increased. This will help the people not only to know the areas where corruption takes place but also to be aware of the factors that promote its occurrence. The higher the number of the people who take part in this practice, the more the set of interests that maintain incentives for corruption, emerges. Jha and Sarangi (2014) highlight that the internet can be used as a bridge between government and those governed. It can be done via electronic government, otherwise known as e-government. E-government does, however, not provide a face-to-face interaction, and thus reduces the chances for any corrupt activity such as bribery.

Part of preventing corruption through management is providing reasonable salaries and incentives for civil servants. As seen above, poverty and low salary structure are some correlates of corruption. In fact, a study in Bangladesh revealed that one of the reasons

why corruption had been on the increase in this country was the low salary structure (Mahmood, 2010: 106). The study concludes that an increase in salary would lead to the reduction of corrupt activities. Sharing the same sentiment, Chêne, (2013) upholds the 'efficiency wage' argument, entailing that higher salaries raise the stakes of engaging in corruption. This means that the higher the salary, the riskier or costlier it is for individuals to engage in corrupt activities because of the fear of losing their well-paying jobs.

Management further connotes educating, sensitising and enlightening individuals about the impact of corruption on society. This creates a significant correlation between education and corruption. A study carried out by Transparency International in India, for example, showed that the state of Kerala was the least corrupt state in India and one of the contributory factors was that it had the highest literacy level in the country (Singh & Pandey, 2010). This suggests that the uneducated may not be aware of the processes and provisions put in place to seek justice. Corrupt officials can cash in on the uneducated to exploit them. So, the more educated people are, the better they would understand their rights and responsibilities. The government is then tasked with the responsibility to enlighten the citizenry on what constitutes corruption and ways of avoiding it. This can be integrated into the curriculum and taught to students from primary to tertiary levels of education. School clubs and civil societies can also be of a great help as well as seminars, workshops, symposia, commercials and pamphlets. The enactment of laws that would give the media freedom to comment on corrupt practices can also be encouraged. This strategy is, however, likely to be more effective in tackling petty corruption than grand or systemic corruption (Singh & Pandey, 2010).

Since management attempts to create a set of rules that would discourage differently motivated individuals from corruption, McCusker (2006) argues that the drawback of such a strategy is that its success is fragmented, “intercepting the less scheming ‘corruptee’ but not the more damaging highly planned exploits of others.” Another drawback is that it does not take cognisance of the impact of market forces. These market forces come into play, for example, when public officials are approached to provide confidential information in exchange for money. While some might see it as too great a risk and decline, others would want to raise the price of that information, thereby increasing the chances of corruption to take place.

Organisational Integrity

Organisational integrity entails the integration of an organisation’s operational systems, control strategies for corruption and ethical standards as a norm of ethical behaviour to be created (McCusker, 2006). This strategy assumes that a deviation from the already established ethical behaviour stems from the organisation and not from the individuals that make up the organisation. It can be adopted by both private and government parastatals. For example, it is the responsibility of the government to collect taxes, receive foreign aid and process budgetary allocations. The more open and transparent the processes involved are, the less the chances for corruption to occur. Here, transparency rests on the process of government, rather than on the individual acts of officials.

The elimination of unnecessary bureaucratic processes and regulations can help stabilise the integrity of the organisation and assist to improve the speed at which corruption related cases are handled. Gonzalez de Asis (2006) notes that, when government officials are consistent, identifying potentially corrupt patterns of officials

becomes easier. This will also reduce the delays in day-to-day transactions such as licensing and approvals from relevant authorities. When this is maintained, it would create an enabling environment for the people to demand accountability from government or organisation. This approach best tackles systemic corruption.

With corrupt activities being reported almost everywhere, one may wonder if the available preventive measures are potent enough to ameliorate it. However, the literature above shows that, if well managed, corruption can indeed be ameliorated to some degree.

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

This conceptual framework is derived from literature reviewed above. It outlines:

- A definition of corruption;
- the correlates of corruption;
- the forms of corruption;
- the consequences of corruption, and
- the main measures of fighting corruption

The conceptual framework presented in chapter two, thus far, was based entirely on literature. The framework was adapted to incorporate additional consequences that are referred to in the data but did not appear in the initial conceptual framework. Elements referred to in the 2009 ICPC report such as ‘citizenry’s negative national perception’ and the effect of corruption on ‘the developmental efforts and survival of a nation’ were included. The report also offered examples of combative measures that did not appear in the literature review such as ‘mobilisation’ i.e. enlisting and fostering public support

(ICPC, 2009: 10) and ‘research and documentation’ for deepening an understanding of corruption (ICPC, 2009: 14).

The elements of the conceptual framework that have been derived from initial data analysis are highlighted in bold italics, below.

Definition

Recall that corruption has been broadly defined by this study as the *misuse of resources for reasons that gives one unmerited favour or advantage*.

Correlates

There are two broad correlates of corruption: economic and social correlates.

Economic correlates

- a) *Poverty*. Example: Where there are no funds for schools to embark on certain projects, the schools may in turn look elsewhere to raise funds, thus increasing the chances of corruption. This refers not only to the poverty of communities but also to the poverty of the schools.
- b) *Poor salary structure*. Example: Where teachers are not well-paid, they may tend to look for other sources of income, thereby increasing the chances of being corrupt.
- c) *Unemployment*: Those who do not have any source of income may be tempted to do just about anything to raise income, thereby increasing the chances of engaging in a corrupt practice.
- d) *Donors’ influence*: Donors are able to use their influence to elicit corrupt practices.
- e) *Lack of infrastructure*: People can capitalise on the lack of good infrastructure to engage in a corrupt activity.

Social correlates

- a) *Weak enforcement mechanisms*: When the mechanisms put in place to fight against corruption are weak, corruption is more likely to thrive.
- b) *Slow judicial process*: Similarly, a slow judicial process will encourage corrupt behaviour in any society.
- c) *Political instability*: Political instability hampers the fight against corruption.
- d) *Lack of political will*: Where there is no political will in the fight against corruption, any measure put in place to curb it will be symbolic.
- e) *Inefficient bureaucratic and administrative structure*: When bureaucratic and administrative processes are not followed, this can give rise to corruption.
- f) *Low society and cultural ethics*: A society that does not have a culture that works against corruption indirectly gives room for its growth.
- g) *Lack of community involvement*: Community involvement can facilitate monitoring of corrupt activities.
- h) *Absence of whistle-blowing culture*: Corruption thrives in a society that does not encourage the culture of reporting corrupt activities to the relevant authorities.
- i) *Emphasis on certification*: Parents' and/or society's emphasis on paper certification can make the students bent on getting paper certificates by any means possible.

Forms of corruption

Corruption can be divided into three broad forms: petty, grand and systemic.

- a) *Petty corruption*: This refers to those corrupt activities that take place in the 'streets' or common places such as payment of bribes to a police officer to evade a traffic offence.

- b) *Grand corruption*: This type of corruption takes place mostly within the political sector. For example, payment of bribes to presidents or top government officials to get certain favours.
- c) *Systemic corruption*: This refers to the corruption that has engulfed a domain of activity, such as education. There is widespread awareness of the need to engage in corrupt behaviour in order to elicit services.

Within the education system, each of the categories—petty, grand or systemic corruption—corrupt practices can be further subdivided into four types: financial, administrative, academic and professional.

- a) *Financial corruption*: This type of corruption has to do with finances within the education system, for example, offering of fraud, extortion, bribes, ghost deliveries, allocation of specific grants and embezzlements of school funds.
- b) *Administrative corruption*: This is the corruption that takes place in the bureaucratic processes in the education system such as a delay in the payment of teachers' salaries, partial distribution of educational materials, purchase of unnecessary equipment, bias in the appointment and deployment of teachers/educational stakeholders, discrimination or victimisation of teachers, unauthorised deductions, poor administration of examinations, illegal admission into school and illegal accreditation of schools.
- c) *Academic corruption*: This type of corruption happens when policies in education are contravened so that individuals would get undeserved favour. Examples are plagiarism, examination malpractice, teacher incompetence, bias in the selection of authors, bypass of copyright law, impersonation, certificate forgery, sale of

makeshift copies of textbook extracts and lecturers having more than one full-time job.

- d) *Professional corruption*: This refers to the corrupt behaviour that goes against the codes of conduct in education such as teachers' absenteeism, ghost workers, illegal fees, sexual harassment of students by teachers, selecting/suppressing information, irregularity in producing and publishing information and manipulation of data.

Consequences of corruption

Corruption has two broad consequences: positive and negative.

- I. *Positive consequence*: Payment of bribes can speed up certain business activities that would hitherto take longer time to process.
- II. *Negative consequences*: The negative consequences of corruption are either economic or social. From the economic perspective:
- a) Corruption is detrimental to entrepreneurship, taxation, local private investments, planning and foreign aids.
 - b) Corruption reduces foreign direct investments (FDI).
 - c) Corruption also reduces productivity over time.
 - d) Corruption can cause huge delays in the economic growth of any country.

From the social perspective:

- e) Corruption causes socio-economic imbalance.
- f) Corruption causes social harm.
- g) Corruption hinders effective service delivery.
- h) Corruption in education will lead to a generally weak education system.

- i) It causes a decline of the efficacy of education institutions.
- j) Low quality of products is another consequence of corruption in education.
- ***It can cause citizenry's negative national perception***
- ***It affects the developmental efforts and survival of a nation***

Measures of deterring corruption can be either preventive or corrective. Within these two broad categories, there are three main measures of fighting corruption:

- a) *Intervention and prosecution:* This refers to a situation where relevant agencies intervene, investigate, arrest and prosecute individuals guilty of a corrupt behaviour.
- b) *Management:* Individuals intending to engage in corrupt behaviour are discouraged through the establishment of appropriate systems, procedures and protocols.
- c) *Organisational integrity:* It has to do with an organisation's operational systems, control strategies for corruption and ethical standards for a norm of ethical behaviour to be created.
- ***Mobilisation: This refers to the enlistment and fostering of public support in combating corruption.***
- ***Research and documentation: This is aimed at deepening the understanding of the nature of corruption.***

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe the design and the procedures adopted for the study, including the sources of data, the data collection strategies and instruments and the validity and reliability of these instruments.

The type of research design adopted by this study is an exploratory design. According to the University of Southern California Libraries (2016), exploratory design is conducted about a research when the earlier studies to refer to or rely upon to predict an outcome are a few or none. This assertion aligns with the nature of this study as earlier stated, there are a few or no studies carried out in this area. Hence, through the study, insights and familiarity would be gained for necessary future investigations for related studies.

Walliman (2011) noted that not all information can be reduced to numbers. Examples of such are people's beliefs, judgements, feelings of comfort, emotions as well as ideas can only be described in words which cannot be manipulated mathematically. This means that qualities, not quantities, are measured. As a result, this research study can be seen as a qualitative research.

There is a plethora of anti-corruption policies in Nigeria. However, there is always a clear distinction between the policy texts (policy intentions) and implementation (policy enactment) relating to the reports of the ICPC since these reports encapsulate all the activities of the Commission. The rationale behind the choice of the ICPC, among others, is that it is the first agency, during the fourth republic, which was tasked with the responsibility of eradicating corruption in Nigeria. It addresses corruption in all

sectors, with a special focus on the education sector. Since Nigeria got her independence from Great Britain on 1st October 1960, there have been four democratic dispensations, which can be termed 'republics'. The first republic took place between 1963 and 1966; second republic, 1979 to 1983; third republic, 1993 and the fourth republic, 1999 to date (Findlay, 2017).

The official annual reports of the ICPC from 2009 to 2013 have been analysed. These reports for these years were selected because they are the only recent reports that are publicly available.

DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Granted that this is a qualitative research, the form of the data used would be secondary data. According to Walliman (2011), secondary data are data that have been interpreted and recorded in the form of news bulletins, magazines, newspapers, documentaries, reports, advertising, refereed journals containing papers vetted by leading experts, serious journals, books as well as the Internet. He further noted that, to avoid bias, inaccuracies and pure imagination, it is advisable to compare the data from different sources. However, in this case study, since the activities of the ICPC are the being examined, only the reports from the ICPC can provide more valid information relating to the purposes of this study.

Obtaining these reports from the ICPC was a rather difficult and strenuous exercise. Initially, the reports were not available online. I had to travel to the ICPC's headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria from Cape Town, South Africa (in December 2015) to physically request the reports. Eventually, four months after my visit to Abuja, and following

constant calls, emails and notifications on their social media platforms, the reports were uploaded to the commission's website, from where I downloaded them.

This type of data sampling is purposeful. The reason for adopting purposeful data sampling is hinged on two implications. Palys (2008) outlines these implications as the researcher's sample must be tied to their objectives and that the choice of sampling strategy will depend on the context in which the researchers are working and the nature of their research objectives. This sampling, as opined by Sharma (2017), helps the researcher to make generalisations from the sample that is being studied and provides a wide-range of non-probability sampling techniques for the researcher to draw on; while its disadvantages include its high tendency to researcher's bias and difficulty in convincing the reader that research using purposeful sampling achieved theoretical/analytical/logical generalisations.

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

In the view of Marshall and Rossman (1999), data analysis involves the bringing of order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. To this end, the texts of the reports (qualitative public documents) constituted the data set within its natural setting, which was analysed based on the framework outlined in the previous chapter. The data analysis focused on descriptions of the activities of the Commission that applied across sectors, as well as descriptions of the activities of the Commission related to education, specifically. Activities that pertained to the different themes of corruption (definition, correlates, forms, consequences and combative measures respectively) were categorised. These categories enable the reader to identify the aspects of corruption that the ICPC prioritised and where it did not. This method is what Pope, Ziebland and Mays

(2000) refer to as 'framework analysis'. It reflects the original accounts and observations of the sample studied and starts from pre-set aims and objectives.

Each report was retyped from the first page to the last page. Each segment (sentence and paragraph) was categorised according to the headings derived from the conceptual framework, i.e. definition, correlates, forms, consequences and combative measures of corruption respectively, using Microsoft Excel.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Thomson (2011) noted that the reporting of the data must have the same accuracy as well as its transcription. Also, if there is an omission of any data, the descriptive validity of that study may be questioned. To ensure a valid and reliable analysis, each of the reports was meticulously retyped, word for word from the beginning of the report to the last word. Each concept (or segment) was then categorised. This categorisation upholds the conceptual validity of this study i.e. the alignment of contents to concepts. According to Locke (2012), in maintaining conceptual validity, the researcher must ensure that the concept: is tied to reality, clearly distinguished from related concepts and properly delimited. This study recognised the views of Locke (2012) in categorising the concepts. As a result, generalisability was also not an issue, as conclusions pertain only to the data that has been analysed. The nature of the content of the reports is such that there is no real threat to interpretive validity or reliability: the content of the reports is intended to be clear to the layman and is relatively unambiguous.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the presentation, interpretation and analysis of data obtained from the reports of the ICPC for the years 2009 to 2013. The analysis focused on how the following aspects of corruption are represented in the reports: *definition, correlates, forms, consequences* and *combative measures*. Recall Kingdom and Maekae's (2013) view on the roles of the role of education in Nigeria as highlighted in Chapter One of this study, hence it is important to ensure that these roles remain paramount and devoid of any form of corrupt behaviour. As a result, the ICPC was established to rid Nigeria of all forms of corruption in all sectors including education. Hence, it is important to analyse how the ICPC views the corruption in terms of its *definition, correlates, forms, consequences* and *combative measures*. Recall that this study is based on the assumption of this study that an anti-corruption agency cannot ameliorate corruption except the agency possesses a good understanding of the scope of corruption (as stated in Chapter One).

For this analysis, using the definition of corruption as an example, the reports will be analysed with the aim of establishing whether corruption is defined by the Commission; and if the Commission defines it, how they define it.

This analysis considered the reports with regard to corruption in general, and also more specifically with regard to corruption in the education sector.

DEFINITION OF CORRUPTION

There were no attempts to define corruption in any of the reports other than in 2012. The definition given in 2012 was not really a definition in the true sense of the word but

rather an exemplification of corruption. Corruption was exemplified “as including bribery, fraud and other related offences” (ICPC, 2012: 3). Furthermore, a list of offences considered to be corrupt activities was given in a table as “gratification, bribery, fraud, postal crimes, false statements, deliberate frustration of investigation and conspiracy” (ICPC, 2012: 3). The focus primarily related to financial matters and subsequent related activities arising from or covering up of the crimes. This implicitly excludes other forms of corruption such as academic, administrative and professional forms.

The reports did not state any definition for corruption in education specifically.

CORRELATES OF CORRUPTION

Only the 2009 report refers to correlates of corruption, mentioning ‘lack of accountability’ and ‘silence of the law’ as ‘causes’. The 2009 report also refers to two papers, presented at events, which refer to the causes of and ‘prelude to’ corruption, specifically ‘living above means’.

YEAR	EVENT	TITLE	PAGE No.
2009	<i>2nd National Development Summit, Yar'Adua Centre, Abuja (1st April)</i>	Forms, Causes, Effects and Remedies to Corruption	27
2009	<i>1st Sensitisation Seminar of the Federal Ministry of Mines and Steel Development, Federal Secretariat, Abuja (16th - 17th June: Planning, Research and Review Department)</i>	Living Above Means: A Prelude to Corruption	27

Table 2: Correlates of corruption mentioned in the reports

There is no mention in any of the reports of correlates of corruption such as poverty, poor salary structure, unemployment, lack of infrastructure, political instability, lack of

political will, lack of community involvement and others. There is also no mention of the correlates of corruption in education, specifically.

FORMS OF CORRUPTION

There are no references to specific forms of corruption in 2012 and 2013. All references relating to forms of corruption appear in the reports for 2009, 2010 and 2011 of which the latter two contain more mentions of specific forms of corruption: of the 33 references to specific forms of corruption in all the reports, 30 were in 2010 and 2011 reports. These are below:

FORM	SUB-DIVISION	OFFENCE	YEAR	PAGE No.
Systemic	Administrative	1. Institutionalised	2009	5
Grand	Financial	1. Embezzlement (3) 2. Fraud (12) 3. Bribe (2)	2010; 2010; 2011 2010; 2010; 2010; 2010; 2010; 2010; 2011; 2011; 2011; 2011; 2011; 2011 2011; 2011	25; 26; 22 25; 25; 25; 25; 25; 25; 21; 21; 21; 22; 22; 22 21; 22
Petty	Financial	1. Bribe 2. Fraud (8) 3. False statement 4. Embezzlement	2010 2009; 2009; 2010; 2010; 2010; 2011; 2011; 2011 2010 2010; 2010	8-9; 10; 21; 21; 25; 26; 21; 22; 22 10; 10; 10;
	Administrative	1. Deliberate frustration of investigation	2010	21
	Academic	1. Fraud (2)	2010; 2011	10-11; 25

Table 3: Forms of corruption mentioned in the reports

While the reports after 2011 do not mention specific forms of corruption, they do refer to papers presented at events such as seminars in which forms of corruption (such as petty and grand) are mentioned.

In all cases, in the actual reports, the references to forms of corruption are brief. The bulk of the reports was dedicated to discussing combative measures against corruption.

While the Commission mentions corruption offences such as gratification, postal crimes, false statements and deliberate frustration of investigation and conspiracy, the specific references suggest that the real focus of attention was on *financial* corruption, with fraud, bribe and embezzlement being the most common.

There were, in total, five cases of specific instance of corruption in education all mentioned in the 2010 and 2011 reports. These were all instances of petty academic corruption: a college provost that was charged for collecting ₦700,000.00 for renovation of the college farm which he did not do; a lecturer who received salary as a full-time worker from two institutions at the same time; a bursar of Lagos State University who was arrested for a reason that was not stated; an alleged exam leakage at a law school and exam malpractice officials.

With respect to education-specific cases of corruption mentioned above, one can conclude that the Commission's main focus is on petty financial form of corruption.

CONSEQUENCES OF CORRUPTION

Analysis of the reports shows that the Commission paid little attention to the consequences of corruption. Consequences of corruption are mentioned only three times, twice in the 2009 report and once in the 2010 report. All these three mentions are made in the context of the 'Chairman's message'. The consequences referred to relate to the status of Nigeria as "public perception of Nigeria as a corruption-ridden country persists", the need to restore Nigeria to "its enviable status of respectability, dignity and honour within the comity of nations" and "the danger it poses against the development and survival of any nation".

While there is limited mention of the consequences of corruption in the actual reports, it is clear that this topic was discussed at government events as the reports refer to five papers presented at events, workshops or seminars regarding the consequences of corruption. These papers may have necessitated analyses during their presentations, however these analyses did not reflect in the reports.

YEAR	EVENT	TITLE	PAGE No.
2010	<i>A 3-day annual International Retreat organised by the Rivers State House of Assembly in Rivers State (23rd February)</i>	Impact of Corruption on Non-Performance of Budget	27
2010	<i>One-day workshop for local officials in Plateau State organised by Benue State Office and sponsored by Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Plateau State (16th December)</i>	Corruption in Local Government Administration in Nigeria: Emergent Socio-Economic and Related Issues	31
2011	<i>A two-day meeting</i>	Corruption: Causes, Consequences and Typology	17
2011	<i>Anti-Corruption Club's Day at Government Secondary School, Kuje (13th July)</i>	Effects of Corruption on Students' Learning Process towards Building a New Nigeria	27
2011	<i>34th Biennial Convention of International Federation of Female Lawyers (FIDA) (24th November)</i>	Consequences and Effects of Corruption on the Progress and Economic Empowerment of Women	28

Table 4: Consequences of corruption mentioned in the reports

There was also a reference to a paper presented at a school where the effects of corruption on students' learning was discussed. Since the Commission held events to discuss the consequences of corruption (as seen in the titles of the papers discussed), but made little reference to this in the reports, it would seem that the Commission saw the reports as vehicles for combating corruption and not as a vehicle for discussing related issues of corruption (such as its consequences).

COMBATIVE MEASURES AGAINST CORRUPTION

There are two categories of combative measures: proactive or preventive and reactive or prosecutorial measures (as mentioned in the second chapter of this study). The

proactive measures connote those measures put in place to discourage or reduce the chances of a corrupt activity to take place. These measures include organisational integrity (organisation's operation system, control strategies and ethical standards) and management (education, sensitisation and enlightenment). The reports present education as the major vehicle for the transferral of knowledge sensitisation and enlightenment.

The other category of combative measures can be called reactive measures (also in the second chapter of this study). Like the proactive measures, these measures also act as a deterrent to subsequent corrupt acts taking place but they refer to measures put in place to combat corruption after it has taken place. Reactive measures include petitioning and prosecuting the offenders.

In the table below, all references to combative measures have been categorised. General combative measures, that is, all the activities put in place to combat corruption outside the spectrum of education, are presented in the first section while all the activities geared towards combating corruption within the education sector are presented in the second section.

Theme	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
PROACTIVE MEASURES (general)					
Organisational Integrity					
<i>Organisation's Operational System/Control Strategies/Ethical Standards</i>	Establishment of 364 Anti-Corruption and Transparency Monitoring Units (ACTUs)	7 system study and review activities were carried out Establishment of ACTUs and inauguration of its members (350 members)	UNDP assisted projects Strategic partnerships with relevant bodies 6 system studies were carried out Establishment of Corruption Monitoring and Evaluation Department (CMED)	A draft standardised system template was put in place A draft system study and review manual was developed Received proposals to conduct system study and review in 3 MDAs 73 system study and review exercises were conducted 25 recoveries were made from investigation and system study activities	System study and review exercises carried out in 3 organisations A final draft copy of the ICT strategy for the Commission 18 major activities were carried out by the CMED
Management					
<i>Sensitisation/Enlightenment/mobilisation</i>	Establishment of National Anti-Corruption Volunteer Corps (NAVC) with 96,000 members as at the time of reporting 3 editions ACTU Newsletter were published Publication of ICPC Newsletter 1 volume of ICPC Monitor was produced 4 press releases were issued 43 papers were delivered National Youth Service Corps	5 Anti-Corruption Vanguarders were inaugurated in tertiary institutions 60 clubs were inaugurated in the period under review 6,000 volunteers were enlisted within the period under review The ICPC Drama Group made 3 presentations The Commission had 2 live presentations: 1 one TV and the other on radio 30 items uploaded to the	New ACTUs were inaugurated in 18 MDAs making it a total of 368 Established partnership with the political class, religious leaders, parent/teacher community etc. Establishment of National Anti-Corruption Coalition (NACC) Vetting of 117 NGOs for inclusion into NACC	Anti-Corruption Lecture Series Strategic partnerships/interactive seminar for religious leaders Establishment of NACC United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) assisted projects Airing of jingles on 7 radio stations in English, Pidgin, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo languages	Introduction of toll-free lines, monitoring of ICPC website, facilitation of interactive web portal, ICPC News, jingles, internal and external communication strategies 58 anti-corruption activities were carried out by the Commission

	<p>(NYSC) Bi-Annual Lectures</p> <p>The Commission attended 9 events across the country</p> <p>48 events were covered in both print and electronic forms</p> <p>The Department coordinated 6 runs of National Conference of Anti-Corruption Committees in Nigerian Legislatures and Head of Anti-Corruption Units in Government Establishments (NILCA/ACTU)</p> <p>3 Town Hall meetings were held</p> <p>30 items were hoisted on the Commission's website</p> <p>ICPC Drama Group playlets</p> <p>Interactive sessions with journalists and media executives' strategic roundtable</p> <p>Establishment of NAVC with 103,567 members</p> <p>A 3-week intensive training of the Commission's staff</p>	<p>Commission's website</p> <p>Radio and TV jingles in more than 6 Nigerian languages including English and Pidgin aired in about 15 Radio and TV Stations across the country</p> <p>2 editions of ACTUs were produced</p> <p>11 news releases were issued</p> <p>43 papers were presented</p> <p>The Commission delivered a lecture to NYSC Corp members during 3 Orientation Batches (A, B and C) in camps at the 36 states and the FCT</p> <p>The Commission was represented at 12 Anti-Corruption events</p> <p>Not less than 44 of such activities were covered during the period in print and electronic forms</p> <p>Strategic partnerships/interactive seminar for religious leaders</p>	<p>Conduct of training for Community Development Associations (CDA) in Lagos State</p> <p>Public awareness jingles were broadcast on 23 radio and TV stations in English, Pidgin and relevant Nigerian languages</p> <p>64 new items were uploaded on the Commission's website</p> <p>23 activities were captured in print and electronic forms</p> <p>38 news releases were issued</p> <p>28 papers were presented</p> <p>2 editions of Coalition Digest were produced</p> <p>The Commission was represented at 11 Anti-Corruption events</p> <p>10 Town Hall Meetings were held</p> <p>Establishment of Students' Anti-Corruption Vanguard, Inauguration of Anti-Corruption Clubs, Anti-</p>	<p>Publication of an ICPC Practical Guide</p> <p>Commencement of the publication of ICPC Law Reports</p> <p>Public presentation of the Report of the System Study on the Federal Capital Territory Lands Administration</p> <p>Stories on ICPC and other corruption related stories in newspapers and television during the period were reviewed and such news distributed to Hon. Chairman and Members on regular basis</p> <p>Information was uploaded on the website, Facebook and Twitter accounts of the Commission on a daily basis</p> <p>Activities of the Commission were captured in print and electronic forms</p> <p>Some officers of the Department participated in the Prosecutors' Conference in Thailand. Six officers are members of the International Association of Prosecutors (IAP)</p>	
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			Corruption Lecture Series and National Anti-Corruption Volunteer Clubs	<p>The Public Enlightenment Department conducted town hall meetings in four (4) cities in South-West geo-political zone and five (5) cities in the South-East geo-political zone</p> <p>Inauguration of Anti-Corruption Clubs in six (6) secondary schools</p> <p>Strategic Partnerships/Interactive Seminar for Religious Leaders;</p> <p>National Anti-Corruption Coalition (NACC)</p> <p>UNDP Assisted Projects</p>	
Research/Documentation	<p>Integrity Testing of the Nigerian Customs Service was carried out</p> <p>Relevant data was tracked and processed to provide reliable information on the Commission's activities.</p> <p>External requests for data on activities of the Commission in particular and corruption in general from research students of higher institutions, National Defence College, Abuja, as well as other government agencies such as the National Bureau of</p>	<p>A research was carried out on the recruitment processes in States and Federal Civil Service Commissions; some Federal Parastatals</p> <p>Relevant data on topical issues was generated and made available to management so that informed decisions could be made</p> <p>Progress Report of the Commission's activities as well as Annual Report was produced during the reporting period</p> <p>Data was also provided to</p>	<p>Relevant data on topical issues generated periodically and made available to management so that informed decisions could be made</p> <p>Progress Report of the Commission's activities as well as Annual Report was produced during the reporting period</p> <p>Data was also provided to researchers from institutions from higher learning at local and international</p>	<p>The Planning, Research and Review (PPR) Department anchored the Commission's collaboration with the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) for the conduct of a nationwide survey on public perception of ICPC as a baseline study to measure the impact of its 5-year strategic plan and other issues relating to corruption in Nigeria</p> <p>Researchers from the 8 organisations and institutions were assisted with questionnaire administration</p>	<p>Developed a draft reporting template on anti-corruption and accountability compliance initiative for MDAs</p> <p>Prepared and forwarded Quarterly, Bi-annual and Annual Evaluation Reports on the performance of the Strategic Plan implementation</p> <p>Provided information on ICPC statistics for researchers that approached the Commission for relevant data for their research works</p>

	Statistics (NBS) were also successfully met	researchers from Universities (local and foreign) to aid the successful completion of their programmes while also making useful data available to government agencies like the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), National Defence College	levels to aid the successful completion of their programmes while also making useful data available to government agencies like the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), National Defence College, National Planning Commission	and vital statistics by the Research and Statistics section Relevant data on topical issues generated periodically and made available to management so that informed decisions could be made Progress Report of the Commission's activities as well as Annual Report was produced during the reporting period Data was also provided to researchers from institutions from higher learning at local and international levels to aid the successful completion of their programmes while also making useful data available to government agencies like the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), National Defence College, National Planning Commission,	
EDUCATION (specific)					
Organisational Integrity					
<i>Organisation's Operational System/Control Strategies/Ethical Standards</i>				System Study was carried out in federal colleges of education Pilot system study and review exercise into 3 universities	Participated in the sighting of and marking exercise of 2013 Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UMTE)

					Met with the national executive of the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT) to get their buy-in into a proposal by the Commission to make input into the Teachers Code of Conduct and to train teachers on the ICPC Act and the newly revised code
<i>Sensitisation/Enlightenment</i>	Infusion of anti-corruption curricula into selected subjects at all levels of education in the country	<p>Infusion of the National Values Curriculum (NVC) into Basic 1-9 (Primaries 1-6 and Junior Secondary 1-3) as well as Post-Basic (Senior Secondary) school subjects</p> <p>The infusion moved on to the tertiary level starting with Colleges of Education</p> <p>Verification visits on the implementation status of the NVC in secondary schools in Federal Capital Territory (FCT)</p> <p>Worked with National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-formal Education (NMEC) to infuse the NVC into Basic and Post-Literacy Curriculum of non-formal education in Nigeria</p>	Sensitisation events were held at 6 schools	<p>A draft standardised system template was put in place</p> <p>Pilot system study and review exercise into 3 universities</p> <p>3 templates were developed from the study</p> <p>Inauguration of Students' Anti-Corruption Vanguard (SAV) in 6 schools</p>	4 interactive sessions with students were conducted

		Teacher Guide on the NVC was developed			
		5 anti-corruption vanguards were inaugurated in tertiary institutions			
REACTIVE MEASURES (general)					
<i>Public petition</i>	1,008 petitions received	1,117 petitions received	1,007 petitions received	708 petitions received	1,058 petitions received
<i>Investigation</i>	No given number of investigated cases	No given number of investigated cases	107 out of 458 cases were fully investigated	3 out of 140 cases were merged with other petitions; 1 was returned for lack of jurisdiction; 3 were returned to the Office of the Chairman 25 recoveries were made as a result Investigators testified in 22 courts	243 cases were fully investigated
<i>Arrests</i>	3 arrests	7 arrests	None	16 arrests	None
<i>Prosecution</i>	7 prosecutions recorded 42 cases were filed/being prosecuted	9 convictions were secured 40 cases were initiated	4 prosecutions were secured 23 cases were initiated 164 cases pending in courts	5 convictions were secured 21 cases were filed 212 cases were pending in various courts 7 out of 22 cases recoveries were successfully concluded 25 recoveries were made from investigation and system study activities	No records of secured convictions 57 cases were filed 191 cases still pending
EDUCATION (specific)					
<i>Public petition</i>	None	None	None	<40 petitions from higher institutions of learning (the amount was not specified on the graph)	None
<i>Investigation</i>	None	2 cases	1 case	2 cases	None

<i>Arrests</i>	None	None	2 arrests	None	1 arrest
<i>Prosecution</i>	None	2 cases	None	2 recoveries of funds	Sealing of illegal universities in Lagos, Oyo, Anambra, Imo, Akwa-Ibom, Rivers, Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau and Ebonyi states
Research/Documentation	External requests for data on activities of the Commission in particular and corruption in general from research students of higher institutions, National Defence College, Abuja, as well as other government agencies such as the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) were also successfully met	Data was also provided to researchers from Universities (local and foreign) to aid the successful completion of their programmes while also making useful data available to government agencies like the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), National Defence College	Data was also provided to researchers from institutions from higher learning at local and international levels to aid the successful completion of their programmes while also making useful data available to government agencies like the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), National Defence College, National Planning Commission	<p>The Planning, Research and Review (PPR) Department anchored the Commission's collaboration with the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) for the conduct of a nationwide survey on public perception of ICPC as a baseline study to measure the impact of its 5-year strategic plan and other issues relating to corruption in Nigeria</p> <p>Researchers from the 8 organisations and institutions were assisted with questionnaire administration and vital statistics by the Research and Statistics section</p> <p>Data was also provided to researchers from institutions from higher learning at local and international levels to aid the successful completion of their programmes while also making useful data available to government agencies like the</p>	Provided information on ICPC statistics for researchers that approached the Commission for relevant data for their research works

				National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), National Defence College, National Planning Commission	
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Table 5: Combative measures of corruption mentioned in the reports

The table above is a detailed one. It clearly shows where the emphasis of the Commission lies in terms of its fight against corruption in Nigeria. Within the reactive measures category, the Commission received a total of 4,898 petitions but only 350 of them were fully investigated. Overall, 26 arrests were made. There were no arrests in 2011 and 2013 even though a total of 350 out of 2,065 cases were fully investigated in both years combined. Twenty-five prosecutions were secured, while 649 cases were pending or being prosecuted (it is not stated if the pending cases were carried over from the previous years or if they were new cases). Thirty-two recoveries were made only in 2012. It can be said that even though the Commission received many petitions, only a few convictions were secured. This shows a very low rate of prosecutions. In fact, there were no records of secured convictions in 2013. The implication for this is that the actual reactive measures were ultimately not very effective.

The education-specific table shows more direct participation of the Commission in combating corruption within the education sector under the reactive measures category. More education specific measures occurred in 2012 than in any other years under review. In 2012, almost 40 petitions were received from higher institutions of learning. There were no petitions recorded in other years. A total of five cases were investigated in 2010, 2011 and 2012 and none for 2009 and 2013. Only two arrests were made in 2011 and none were recorded in 2009, 2010, 2012 and 2013. There were four

prosecutions in 2010 and 2012. Thus, in the education sector, as in other sectors more generally, reactive measures did not seem to be very effective in leading to arrests and prosecutions.

There were numerous activities carried out by the Commission to ensure that the integrity of organisations was either maintained or enhanced in the five years under review. These activities include carrying out 83 system reviews and establishing the Anti-Corruption and Transparency Monitoring Units (ACTUs). A draft standardised system as well as an ICT strategy for the Commission was developed for the education system. 1,082 ACTUs were established in the first three years (2009, 2010 and 2011). Many partnerships with civil societies and other relevant organisations were established in the earlier years (i.e. excluding 2013).

Overall, the reports place the greatest emphasis on combating corruption by educating the public about and against corruption and prosecuting offenders. There is also a strong emphasis on establishing partnerships with other organisations and forming anti-corruption clubs with the goal of educating the public against corrupt activities.

Education was relevant to the activities of the Commission in two distinct ways. Firstly, there were activities aimed at dealing with corruption within the education system. For example, the Commission took a comprehensive look into corruption in general education and further carried out a pilot study and review exercise in three universities.

Secondly, education was positioned as a vehicle for combating corruption across all sectors of society. A National Values Curriculum (NVC) was developed and infused into

selected subjects in 2009 and 2010. A teacher's guide on the NVC was developed in 2010. Also, the publications of the Commission kept the public abreast of all of its activities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has suggested that there is a sketchy conceptualisation of corruption in the reports. The view of corruption is largely limited to issues pertaining to grand and petty corruption such as bribery, fraud and related offences (e.g. prevention of escape from prosecution for these offences).

The reports would suggest that the measures adopted to combat corruption were not very effective. While there was a high number of petitions received by the Commission, the number of investigations carried out was much lower, and the number of prosecutions even lower. Further discussions of these insights will take place in the next chapter.

The reports themselves did not show any consideration of the correlates or consequences of corruption.

There is a chronological change of emphasis across the reports. This can be linked to a change of leadership in the latter part of 2011 when a new Chairperson was appointed in an acting capacity, and in 2012 when the position was made permanent. Even though the general focus on combative measures was sustained, there was a shift towards a greater focus on sensitisation and enlightenment activities in 2012 than in any other year. The emphasis on the integrity of the system was also increased in 2012. There were also more education related activities in 2012. However, in 2013, there seemed to have been a slowdown of anti-corruption activities.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined the activities of the ICPC, a major agency that has been mandated to fight corruption in Nigeria, both on a general scale and within the education system specifically. Recall that this study holds the assumption that ameliorating corruption is effective when corruption is understood. The purposes of the study have been to consider how the ICPC conceptualises corruption, its correlates, forms, consequences and proposed combative measures, and to compare this to the way this has been conceptualised in scholarly literature.

This chapter highlights the general insights that were raised in the previous chapter and then discusses these insights in relation to the scholarly literature. The key insights that have emerged from analysis have been, that:

- the conceptualisation of corruption is very limited, as is the range of forms addressed;
- there is little or no consideration of the correlates/causes of corruption;
- there is little or no consideration of the consequences of corruption;
- the proposed combative measures are narrowly focused; and
- educating a nation is seen primarily as a vehicle to fight corruption in all spheres.

Each of these insights is discussed more fully below:

Conceptualisation

The Commission did not explicitly give a working definition of corruption in any of the reports. However, in the 2012 report (ICPC, 2012: 3), corruption was defined as “including bribery, fraud and other related offences”. Also mentioned were

"gratification, bribery, fraud, postal crimes, false statements, deliberate frustration of investigation and conspiracy" (ICPC, 2012: 3).

These activities have to do mainly with finances and other subsequent activities that may arise from covering up finance related crimes. An implication of this view (that corruption mainly involves finance) is that there is a neglect of corrupt offences that are non-financial in nature such as academic, administrative and professional forms of corruption, as is discussed further below.

According to Portal (2015), there is yet to be consensus on a globally accepted definition for corruption. This may be one of the reasons why the ICPC did not present a clear-cut definition of corruption. However, most of the scholarly literature discussed in chapter two sees corruption as primarily relating to the abuse of entrusted power or resources for personal gain or advantage (World Bank, 1997; Klitgaard, 1998; Myint, 2000; Pope, 2000 and Salisu, 2000).

This is not inconsistent with the way corruption is understood in the report. However, personal gain need not necessarily be financial, especially in the sphere of education where it could include numerous other advantages, such as obtaining qualifications by illicit means.

Wei (2017) has suggested that having a clear-cut definition of corruption will make the fight against corruption easier and has argued that corruption was reduced in the United States when some forms of corruption were legally defined. On this basis, the study suggests that the work of the ICPC would be strengthened by a clearer and broader conceptualisation of corruption.

The forms of corruption

The analysis categorised corruption into three main types: petty, grand and systemic. Within these categories are four sub-categories: *financial*, *administrative*, *academic* and *professional*.

From the data available in the reports, petty-*financial* corruption (specifically bribery, fraud and embezzlement) seems to be the main focus of the Commission. There was also some consideration of systemic corruption where the Commission conducted system studies in different parastatals. However, what was conspicuously missing was attention to grand or political corruption. There were no cases reported of corruption involving prominent personalities that were prosecuted. In the opinion of Persson et al. (2013), the prosecution of corrupt prominent individuals will serve as a deterrent to others and help instil integrity and consciousness in citizens.

Another implication of the above is that the focus on petty-*finance* related cases of corruption means the neglect of other forms of corruption such as administrative, academic and professional corruption. This is particularly relevant in the sphere of education where these particular forms of corruption are pertinent. Neglect of certain forms of corruption can indirectly cause such forms to thrive.

Little or no consideration of the correlates of corruption

The correlates of corruption were hardly discussed in the reports. Of all the papers presented at the ICPC-organised seminars, only two papers (in 2009) had titles relating to correlates of corruption.

The literature informs that, even though the presence of the correlates of corruption does not necessarily mean that corruption is present (Shehu, 2005), it is important to see these correlates as possible indicators of corruption.

Shehu (2005) remarks that symptoms of corruption include crime, unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment. This study suggests that if these symptoms are taken care of or even understood with the aim of providing solutions to them, a decline in corruption may be experienced. For example, since unemployment and poverty are seen as correlates of corruption, the ICPC could put measures in place to reduce these by liaising with corporate bodies and relevant stakeholders to increase employment opportunities. This is in line with Aluko's (2002) comment that, when the economic gap between the rich and poor continues to increase, the tendency for the poor to sell their conscience to the rich increases. Thus, the poor (who may not necessarily have a steady source of income) may become vulnerable to all forms of social vices, including corruption.

This study suggests that it is feasible for the Commission to address at least certain correlates of corruption such as advocating the support for better salary structures for workers. Recall that Lambsdorff (2006) and Azfar and Nelson (2007) affirmed that increasing government wages reduces corruption levels but does not necessarily eliminate it. Similarly, the Commission can partner with relevant stakeholders to increase opportunities for job creation. Getting more people to be gainfully employed can be a good step towards curbing corruption.

The combative measures proposed in the reports are discussed below. However, the relation between correlates of corruption and combative measures is noted here, i.e.

that a consideration of correlates can suggest combative measures. For example, in education specifically, Anzene (2014) has suggested that a correlate of corruption is the emphasis on paper certification instead of knowledge, skills and competence, leading to an increase in the occurrence of examination malpractice. One way to address this is by strengthening the professional associations that monitor assessment in particular fields of study, especially for professions, including education, as well as accounting, engineering, medicine and so forth.

Some correlates of corruption are perhaps easier to address than others, and these could be regarded as low hanging fruit. For example, if dependence on donor funding is regarded as one of the correlates of corruption, donor activity could be regulated to limit inappropriate donor influence. And if weak monitoring of administrative systems is seen to be a correlate of corruption, and the argument that e-governments reduce the kind of corruption that occurs in face-to-face interactions is accepted, e-governments could be extended in vulnerable domains of activity. Finally, if corruption is more common where direct stakeholders do not participate in the monitoring management of public investments, such as schools, structures that facilitate such participation can be put in place.

The limited consideration given to the correlates of corruption by the ICPC in its reports does not help in the fight against corruption. As averred by the Centre of Democracy and Governance (1999) and Othman, Shafie and Hamid (2014), one of the ways of fighting corruption and the challenges that it brings is, by first understanding, its correlates.

Little or no consideration of the consequences of corruption

As was the case with the correlates of corruption, the Commission did not pay much consideration to the consequences of corruption. There were three mentions relating to the consequences of corruption in 2009 and 2010 (in the Chairman's message). There were five events which were related to the consequences of corruption between 2010 and 2011.

While the reports were not primarily designed to discuss the consequences of corruption, the fight against corruption would be more effective if there were a wider understanding of the impact of corruption on social and economic opportunities. The World Bank (1997) suggested that understanding the consequences of corruption on an economic or political system can help in identifying specific types of activities as being corrupt. The reports could potentially contribute to such an understanding by paying attention to the consequences of corruption.

The nature of combative measures

In the reports, there were two main categories of combative measures adopted by the ICPC: proactive and reactive. Essentially, proactive measures are those that relate to prevention of corruption while reactive measures address corruption acts once they have already occurred (Kaufmann, 1997). The Commission's preventive and public enlightenment and education mandates comprise its proactive measures while its enforcement mandate reflects the reactive measures.

The analysis showed huge dependence on proactive measures by the Commission to combat corruption. All the reports mentioned numerous strategies for enlightening the public about corruption. These include organising lectures, workshops and drama groups, forming and recruiting volunteers, anti-corruption groups, establishing

partnerships with relevant bodies such as NGOs, developing templates for infusing anti-corruption messages into curricula and using mass and social media platforms. These strategies are admirable. However, there is no way of assessing how effective they have been. McCusker (2006) has argued that such strategies focus efforts on educating those who may never consider corrupt acts. These measures are more effective against those who are corrupt in relatively unplanned ways and less effective against those who are corrupt in more planned, systematic and ultimately more damaging ways. Hence, depending mainly on this approach can be risky as it may not yield maximum results.

There is even greater cause for concern when one considers the reactive measures of the Commission, as the reports themselves provide evidence that these proved to be largely ineffective. For example, of the 4,898 petitions received by the Commission in five years, only 350 were fully investigated. Of these, only 25 led to prosecutions and 649 cases were left 'pending'.

Persson et al. (2013) suggested that, to ensure that corrupt individuals are prosecuted and punished, the rule of law must be strengthened and backed up with political will. As an example of the required follow through, Waziri (2011) suggested that special courts can be established to speed up prosecutorial activities (see also Opara 2007). However, these measures require political will. The figures offered in the report suggest that this capacity and will were not evident. Perhaps, this explains why the Commission invested more time and energy in proactive, preventive measures instead.

The Commission's intensity to fight corruption seemed to slow down in 2013. The change of leadership in 2012 coincided with a flurry of anti-corruption activities but in

2013, there was a drastic reduction of such. This is arguably a consequence of a decline in political will at this time.

Tackling corruption in the education system

The analysis shows that the Commission focused on the education sector in two distinct ways. Firstly, the ICPC addressed corruption within the education system. To this end, it embarked on several anti-corruption activities such as the sensitisation of events, the inauguration of anti-corruption vanguards and conducting system reviews in schools. Most of these events were held in schools within the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of the country. This study suggests that the Commission should expand its scope of anti-corruption activities beyond the FCT. The schools in the 36 states of the country should be considered as well.

As part of addressing corruption within the education sector, the Commission carried out pilot studies and review exercises in three universities in 2012. With over 150 universities (federal, state and private) in the country, this number of system studies is low. The Commission would do well to extend its activities to federal, state and private universities in each of the country's six geo-political zones as well as to colleges of education and polytechnics.

Secondly, the Commission chose to use education as a vehicle for combating corruption across all sectors of society. In 2009, the Commission started the infusion of anti-corruption curriculum called the National Values Curriculum (NVC) into selected subjects at all levels of education in the country. This was also followed by the development of a teachers' guide on the NVC.

Concluding comment

In general, the comparison drawn between the approach to fighting corruption emerging from scholarly literature and the evidence in the reports highlights numerous inadequacies in the approach of the ICPC. The main conclusion reached here is that the approach of the ICPC could potentially be strengthened considerably if it were to be informed by engagement with scholarship relating to corruption. However, this engagement is itself subject to political will. Where this is not strong, it is unlikely that other strategies would be effective.

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